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Charles Mills, Esq.

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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

CRUSADES,

FOR THE

RECOVERY AND POSSESSION

OF THE

Holy Land.

By CHARLES MILLS.

—— Therefore, friends,
As far as to the Sepulchre of Christ,
(Whose soldier now, under whose blessed cross
We are impressed and engag'd to fight)
Forthwith a power of English shall we levy;
Whose arms were moulded in their mothers' wombs
To chase these Pagans, in those holy fields,
Over whose acres walk'd those blessed feet
Which, fourteen hundred years ago, were nail'd,
For our advantage, on the bitter cross.

SHAKESPEARE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

WITH A

MEMOIR OF THE AUTHOR.

VOL. I.

THE FOURTH EDITION.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, REES, ORME, BROWN, AND GREEN,
PATERNOSTER ROW.

1828.

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MEMOIR

OF

THE LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF

CHARLES MILLS.

THE even tenor of the scholar's existence is seldom very productive of incident; and, where his lot has been blessed with exemption from the miseries of want and the bitterness of dependence, little will usually be found, in the mere course of his peaceful fortunes, to excite deep emotions of interest, or to gratify lighter curiosity. But, to the thoughtful observer, the history of the mind of a man of genius and learning can never be destitute of attraction or utility. The whole process by which his faculties have been cultivated and his knowledge built up, is in itself well deserving of attention; and if the generous ambition of excellence be apparent throughout as the guiding principle of action, a still higher character will be im-

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parted to the study. There will then surely be few spectacles more instructive, or better calculated to inspire intellectual exertion, than that of a life of pure and enthusiastic devotion to literature, which has conducted its votary to happiness in the pursuit, and to honourable distinction for its reward.

Such an example, if the delineation be worthy of its object, should be gathered from the following pages. It is their earnest purpose to render a faithful record of an individual, whose writings have given celebrity to his name, and the useful memory of whose talents and virtues should not willingly be lost. The sketch offers no pretence of an unbiassed spirit: but it claims the merit that may belong to a tribute of grateful affection, in which the simplicity of truth is rigidly preserved, even while cold impartiality of judgment is felt and acknowledged to be impossible.

Charles Mills, the subject of the present memoir, was born at Croom's Hill, Greenwich, on the 29th of July, 1788. His family had been long and respectably known in that place, where his grandfather and father had successively exercised the profession of surgeons, for nearly half a century, in the enjoyment of the first practice afforded by an opulent vicinity.

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His father, Samuel Gillam Mills, was not more esteemed for professional ability, than for his private qualities of mind and heart. He was a man of powerful intellect, upright intention, and keen sensibility; and the uncompromising integrity of his character was brought conspicuously into public notice, upon more than one occasion of his life, on which it is not here necessary to dwell. His tastes were intellectual; his acquaintance with general literature was extensive; and the charms which his mental accomplishments lent to his conversation, were heightened by a ready flow of vivacity and sprightliness. His society was generally courted in the circle in which he moved; and between him and one rather distinguished member of it, Archdeacon Edwards,—the friend of Paley, and himself a scholar of considerable attainments—congeniality of spirit produced a close and particular intimacy.

These features in the character of Samuel Gillam Mills are worth recording, because they may be supposed to have had no light influence in awakening the early tastes of his son. The intellectual tone of the father's pursuits communicated itself to his domestic party; his wife, too, was a woman of strong sense and cultivated understanding; and his children, as they grew up, though not denied the ordinary amusements

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of society, found books the habitual recreation of their home. The Mills's were, what may be expressively called, a reading family; and they experienced in literature that rational and calm enjoyment, which is at once the ornament and the blessing of English middle life.

Charles was the youngest of the family; and his infancy enjoyed all the advantages which a society thus constituted could afford. So early was a fondness for reading imbibed by him, that, when quite a child, a book or a newspaper was a never failing expedient for quieting his gambols, and rivetting him to a chair. He had been rather a weakly infant; and one severe illness, when a boy of thirteen, betrayed a defective constitution, and perhaps left the seeds of that decay which prematurely terminated his existence. This early delicacy of frame had its usual attendant consequence of exciting a disposition to indulge him; but not its usual ill effects. Coercion he never knew; and perhaps the unbending independence of purpose, which, guided by good principle and clear judgment, kept him all his life in the right path of honour and virtue, may be traced to the unrestrained freedom which was permitted to his boyish spirit. To the same cause, too, may in some measure be ascribed that enlargement and vigour of mind, which made him ambitious

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of excellence for its own sake, and prevented the native powers of his genius from lying dormant and uncultivated.

No general conclusion is, of course, safely to be drawn from the particular case of his education. The intention or accident which left his character to develope itself, with no stronger direction than the gentle and silent influence of salutary example, would scarcely be applicable under other circumstances: it is only certain that upon him it wrought no evil. He had received, indeed, from nature, a large share of pride and a deep intensity of feeling—qualities in which he closely resembled his father; and the whole independent course of his later life, as well as of his earlier years, had assuredly not tended to weaken their influence. He was easily roused to indignation by slight or injury, and sensitively wounded by unkindness; for he neither felt nor acted by halves. But in the ordinary occurrences of life, he held his passions under strong and habitual controul; nor in his social converse, was it possible for the impulses of a benevolent and affectionate heart to be more gracefully chastened by the mild and dignified deportment of the gentleman.

At about the usual age, Charles Mills was placed at a private school to acquire the rudiments of a classical education. His first and

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only master was a clergyman of Greenwich; and under that gentleman's tuition was gathered whatever school knowledge of the Latin and Greek he possessed. That he was thoroughly grounded in the classical languages, his subsequent attainments in both fully testify. So natural seemed his predilection for study, and so tenacious was his memory, that his lessons were never a task to him; and when he quitted school, his master dismissed him with this commendation to his father, that "he was fit for anything." But comparatively little of his learning was gained at school; and to subsequent study, undertaken voluntarily, and pursued in private and without assistance, wa he mainly indebted for the sum of his acquirements. French, indeed, he was taught at home, by an excellent master; and at home also he learnt arithmetic, and a little mathematics. But he never shewed any fondness for that branch of science; nor, in truth, for the exact sciences in general. Neither did he exhibit for music or drawing any inclination in his earlier years; and he never learnt either. Yet it is remarkable that his characteristic desire to accomplish his tastes afterwards made him a frequent attendant at operas and concerts, and that he acquired a passable judgment in scientific music. His boyish indifference to the arts

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of design, was also in later life warmed by familiarity with the works of the great masters into a passionate admiration, an enthusiastic feeling, and a true discernment for the beauties of sculpture and painting.

The brief history of Charles Mills's regular education—if such it can be called—begins and terminates with the period during which he was under the tuition of the clergyman referred to. During this epoch, and after his recovery from his first serious illness, he had become as strong as most youths of his age. With all his aptitude for learning and eagerness for information, he was a lively, high-spirited, and natural boy, foremost in every frolic, and loving the excitement and peril of every invention of sportive mischief. "Nothing," says one of the earliest of his juvenile companions, and of the dearest friends of his maturer years, "nothing would be further from the fact, than that his disposition was not of the most animated and active nature. He entered into all the sports of boyhood, and all the mischievous pranks of that most tormenting age, with marvellous avidity and zest. It would be endless, as well as unprofitable, to detail our boyish adventures and achievements. A single instance will give you a sufficient idea of his ardour for the enjoyments of that season

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of reckless delight. When fishing was the rage with us, it was our practice to sleep with our bed-room windows open, with a string fastened to the wrist, the end of which reached the ground. Whoever awoke first, got up, went to the house of the other, scaled the garden wall, and roused the sleeper by tugging at the suspended string. We have thus been for many summer days together up as early as two and three in the morning; when we would walk, or rather run, to Lewisham to our sport. Nothing impeded our progress: walls were scaled, streamlets forded, gardens, orchards, fields, of friends, foes, and strangers, made free with alike, as they happened to lie in the shortest and most convenient route."

"I can give you," says the same affectionate reminiscent, "an amusing little trait of Charles's plan of combining his literary predilections with the pleasures which he enjoyed, in common with his less intellectual friends. Upon one occasion, he, F——, and myself, took a boat for the frolic of rowing ourselves to Windsor. We left Westminster bridge one afternoon, reached Kingston that night, and proceeded again in the morning. Our labours then began: we knew nothing further of the navigation of the river; the stream was continually against us; and no resource was often

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left but for two of the party in turn to get out and tow the boat, while the third remained to steer. Opposite Hampton Court we got aground; and it devolved on F—— and myself to set the boat afloat again. Charles coolly seated himself on the bank of the river, apparently totally unconcerned as to the success of our toils; and taking from his pocket a book which we did not before know that he had with him, he was soon wrapped up in its contents, until the boat was again ready to proceed. The volume then returned to its repose, and we saw no more of it until some other convenient occasion occurred for its perusal: for it never interfered with us, or the common object that we had in view."

Thus, during these school-boy 'passages,' he was already beginning to accumulate in silence, though perhaps with little selection or method, that various knowledge for which his mind was afterwards distinguished. Whatever were his amusements or pursuits, books were never neglected, "He was always engaged in reading something, always appeared to take an interest in literature beyond what other boys thought of, and, in short, seemed ever to regard books as companions and friends, whereas all the rest of us shunned their society as much as possible, and thought them, and

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every thing connected with them, our torments and our enemies. At home, the members of his family being all older than himself, he was naturally thrown a good deal back upon his own resources for occupation and amusement, which further encouraged his early love of reading. But this was conducted pretty much as his own fancy dictated, wandering by turns into subjects of every description, and often fixing for a time on plays, novels, and other productions of a light character."

The period had now arrived when some choice of a future profession for him became indispensable. His father's views were directed to the law; but this not according with his own wishes, he was placed in a merchant's counting-house. With the details of that occupation, however, a very short trial sufficed to disgust him; and being permitted to relinquish the pursuit of a commercial life, and to adopt his father's original intention law, he was finally in 1804, and at about the age of sixteen, articled for five years with Messrs. Williams and Brookes, eminent solicitors, of Lincoln's Inn. Between his own family and that of the senior partner of this house, a close private friendship had long subsisted; and he appeared to enter with the fairest prospects on his new profession.

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Though he had little affection for it, his strong sense of duty made him apply to its study with cheerfulness and zeal; and he soon won the esteem of his instructors.

By this removal to London, no greater change was wrought in his mind than might fairly have been anticipated from difference of scene and circumstances. In one respect, however, the period of his clerkship formed a very remarkable epoch in his life. His studies took a theological turn; and as he never languidly applied to any subject, he entered deeply both into the study and practice of religion. One example may illustrate the powers of his memory, as well as the ardour which he threw into every pursuit. To the preaching and doctrines of the present eloquent Vicar of Greenwich, he was so particularly partial, that he learnt short-hand writing expressly for the pleasure of possessing his discourses. Mr. Mathew was at that time curate of Greenwich, and alternate morning and evening preacher at St. James's and the Magdalen; and it was his natural practice to deliver the same sermon from more than one pulpit. Such opportunities were not lost by his youthful hearer for perfecting the copy of each discourse. He used to pass his Sundays at Greenwich; and he has frequently, after attending morning ser-

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vice there, walked up to London, that he might be present at the repetition of the sermon at the Magdalen. He would afterwards return to Greenwich in the evening, when his fair transcript of the discourse was there finally made from his short-hand notes; and so retentive was his memory that the second hearing usually sufficed to produce a composition as perfect as the able original. In this manner he had collected a great number of Mr. Mathew's sermons: but the manuscripts were of course never seen beyond the little circle of his nearest relatives and friends.

In the course of his theological studies, at this epoch, there was no standard work in English which he did not read, and with which he failed to render himself thoroughly conversant. And when all that remained for him to learn, was to be sought only from the divines and theological commentators of Germany, he made a careful and even rare collection of their works. Some fruits of his reading at this period still remain; and among these early manuscript pieces, is a "Statement of the Various Opinions of Biblical Critics respecting the Origin and Composition of our Three First Canonical Gospels, with an Analysis of the Hypothesis proposed by Professor Marsh:"— so full, close, and comprehensive a digest of

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the original, as would do credit to the most practiced ability. This was written when he was only in his nineteenth year; and was composed, merely for his private satisfaction, as an exercise to arrange and confirm his acquaintance with its subject. His permission, at the time, to an early friend to take a copy of it, has saved it from the fate of other papers, which obedience to his dying injunctions compelled his executors to destroy. In like manner have some extracts been preserved by his brother from a little essay in proof of the doctrine of the Trinity, which, though the work only of his twentieth year, displays no contemptible learning, and was written, for the production of so young a man, with extraordinary powers of argument and precision of logical arrangement.

With a mind elevated by such pursuits, at so early an age, it is unnecessary to add, that his life was preserved pure from the allurements of those vices and follies which beset his path in the metropolis, and to which an easy surrender, under his circumstances, would have been but too natural. While tinctured with the ardent colouring of youthful feeling, his religion then wore even an aspect of severity. But it was not ascetic, nor did it deny him the lawful amusements of society At this period he was

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fond of hearing the parliamentary debates, and became a frequent attendant in the gallery of the House of Commons. The theatres, also, attracted a great deal of his attention: he never went but to the pit; and with his early indication of intellectual taste, he readily learnt to distinguish the valuable from the worthless, both in the actors and the productions of the stage. Thus it was, that never losing sight of the great object of mental improvement, even in his recreations, he knew how to extract the precious ore of the art from the base alloy and coarser dregs of its admixture. His passion for the theatre, like every other inclination, was made conducive to study and reflection; and he soon familiarized and enriched his mind with the works of the great masters of the old English drama. His thoughts were steeped in their beauties; and it may safely be averred that, in his later years, few men had become so thoroughly read in this sterling department of our literature. Formed upon such models, his judgment, as a dramatic critic, was chastened and rigorous.

Nor, during this same term of his articles at Lincoln's Inn, was he neglectful of other improvement, both in professional learning and general literature. In 1809, then in his twenty-first year, he compiled, still for his private use

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only, "A succinct Account of the History, general Nature, and peculiar Marks and Qualities of the Feudal Law, collected principally from the Notes of Mr. Hargrave and Mr. Butler, to the sixteenth Edition of Coke upon Littleton." This little essay, the natural result of some of his legal studies, has also accidentally been preserved; but though an able abridgment, executed with great care and nicety, it offers of course no pretensions to original merit; and it is interesting, merely as one more proof of his laborious diligence and characteristic perseverance in the acquisition of knowledge.

Meanwhile, he also amused himself by other early attempts at more miscellaneous composition, and not unfrequently sent anonymous essays to the periodical publications of the day. But of their subjects or signatures, his early friends have preserved no record: it is remembered only that among them were a violent philippic against music, and a humorous defence of boxing. The graver studies of this epoch led him to an historical sketch of the "Rise and Decline of the Papal Power:" of which it may only be observed that it condensed sufficient information to be consulted with profit fifteen years later, by a literary friend whose researches were directed to the same subject.

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In the selection of his reading, Mr. Mills had very early begun the practice of keeping a common-place book; and, before he was eighteen years old, he had already written through two thick volumes. After filling one book, it was his youthful practice for several years to re-copy from it into a new one whatever upon consideration still appeared sufficiently valuable to preserve. The old volume was then destroyed; and in process of time the last one underwent a similar purgation. At a later epoch, the practice of keeping a memorandum book, which he always carried in his pocket, superseded the former habit. In his general reading, it became his custom, during the first perusal of a work, to mark in pencil on the margin all the passages to which he wished to revert. The notation served to attract and confine his eye to the selected portions; and in this abbreviated manner he would pass through the volume again. There are none of the books which he bequeathed to his friends that are not so marked; and in general they further contain, at the end, a string of references, neatly penned, to the pages of every more remarkable passage, to which, after a second perusal, he still thought it desirable to direct his memory. He noted to a friend with modest gratification, that period in his life, at which on

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most subjects of general research, if he could not carry the full chain of investigation in his mind, he had now at length arrived at the power of remembering with facility where each link was to be found and recovered. Thenceforth he relied less on the mechanical aids of his earlier studies, because he had made himself independent of them.

Upon the advantages of his favourite early plan of keeping a common-place book, his deliberate sentiments are recorded in some written advice which he addressed, in his nineteenth year, to a friend of his own age.

" I have always found a common-place book of the highest utility. It will give you but little trouble at first, and after a short time you will be averse to leave it off. When one becomes old it will be a source of pleasure, though perhaps melancholy, to trace the pursuits of former life; and though Lord Chatham would not let his nephew make use of one because it spoiled his memory, we have the example of all great men, and the positive approbation of the plan by Mr. Locke. He replies to a similar kind of objection as that of Lord Chatham, by saying, " that a pedlar may carry his goods on his back, but that a merchant must have warehouses to contain his."

The little paper from which these observa-

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tions are copied is altogether too remarkable to be passed over without farther notice. It is tinged, indeed, throughout with the pedantry common to an early acquisition of knowledge, but which, in Mr. Mills's case, was completely worn off in the subsequent polishing of his mind; and it also advances some crude opinions on literature, which the maturity of the youthful author's judgment assuredly did not confirm. But the whole intention of the paper is so thoroughly praiseworthy—the solicitude which it exhibits for the improvement of a less gifted friend, is so truly affectionate—and the sound knowledge and deep reflection which abound in it, are so unusual for the time of life at which it was written—that some extracts from it cannot but do honour to the memory of his early attainments and virtues. It is perhaps one of the most curious productions that ever came from the mind of a mere youth. In the portions of it here selected, it has been the faithful care of the transcriber to change not a line nor a word from the text of the MS., as it was composed just twenty years ago. It begins:

"To tell you that reading and reflection are of the highest advantage and delight to youth, and at the same time afford a comfortable resource for old age, is only telling you what you

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already know, and the general and true opinion of the world. The pleasure resulting from study is so totally independent of exterior circumstances, it so raises and refines the mind above the mere enjoyment of sense, that I am always happy when a friend of mine takes delight from the pursuit. Cultivate then the desire for knowledge; but bear ever in mind that from the right or wrong direction of this desire will depend your happiness here and hereafter. We, who know that man's life is not to be passed in contemplation alone, cannot applaud those who exist but in a study, who live for themselves and not for others, for this is but a higher species of selfishness and sensuality. Many there are who carry a haughty, supercilious manner to those who are not so learned as themselves, not so much endeavouring to amend their ignorance, to raise you on a level with themselves, as to overpower you and keep you at an awful distance; and the unlearned are treated as quite an inferior order of beings. That this is true every body, in a greater or less degree, is convinced of. But, while these kind of persons forget, let it be ever present to our recollection, that the end of all learning is to give us such virtuous principles of *action*, that we may be the better enabled to live as becomes us in the world, and to exalt

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the honour of our Maker. If this maxim were acted on, different indeed would be the state of mankind, for unless knowledge is applied to this end, unless men wish to make themselves better, it but increases their natural vanity and pride. I well know that, without the necessary temper of mind, reading can be of little use. I would not force it on you, but yet I may endeavour to give you a proper inclination to enable you to enjoy its pleasures. Presumptuous, indeed, is the undertaking, for (as my Lord Chesterfield said to his son) 'I have not yet beard enough to preach or censure;' but I may warn you of those rocks on which I have nearly foundered. For when I, as it were, entered upon the world, from the ill choice I made of books, and from having but a weak judgment, my sentiments on many subjects were founded in error. But since that time, my studies have, I hope, been better directed."

The paper then proceeds to point out a course of study, beginning with the following remarks upon historical and biographical reading.

"Upon reflection I conclude, that there is no subject so proper for you to begin with as history; for there is such a natural curiosity in the mind of man to be acquainted with the

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situation of the world previous to the time in which he lives, the study is so amusing, that it makes us in love with books, and therefore is a good opening to other kinds of reading. If this relates to history in general, how much nearer does it apply to us with respect to the history of our own country. We cannot help being anxious to know what revolutions in affairs have brought them to their present state, what are the apparent and probable causes of our being so superior in wealth, in learning, and in laws, to all other nations of the globe. It is from history alone you can be informed of these things, and to be ignorant of them, especially of what relates to our native country, makes us unfit for polished society, and shews a lamentable want of that curiosity and thirst after knowledge, so properly common to youth. It may not be amiss to remark, that you will find a good chronological book of the highest service, for, with a good knowledge of history, but without having the events ranged in order which assist the memory by method,—without fixing in the mind some idea of the time in which each action was performed, with some part of the contemporary history of the world,—your mind will be confused with a crowd of unconnected events. Of course there are some parts of history of greater interest than the

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rest, and more especially is the time of the revival of the arts in Italy under the family of the Medici, compiled by Mr. Roscoe in his life of Lorenzo de' Medici and Pope Leo the Tenth, together with the general state of Europe at that time, with the reformation in religion that followed, and more particularly the history of England at that period. But do not yet awhile read either Hume's history, or Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. With all the art of men of their superior sagacity, they both aim at the destruction of Christianity; and though they assert in the title page they will lead you to history, their's is but the path to infidelity. Little expecting the attack, we are not prepared to defend ourselves. Argument has never made the least impression against the truth of religion; but against the malignant hints, or the open contemptuous ridicule which are contained in such works as these, its professors, to their shame, have not borne up.

" Biography, as it comes nearer to our own homes than history, so it will be of the more practical use. In the lives of great literary characters, we see, in some, what an aid learning is to virtue; in others, the truth of what I have said of the unprofitableness of its application to any other purpose. When I see a man of great talents frittering them away in

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comparatively petty pursuits; when I reflect that soon the grave will mock the vanity of his former employments, I cannot but feel sorrow that abilities should be so misapplied. But in all, from their persevering habits of study, from their great attainments, we feel the littleness of our own efforts, and our imperfect knowledge of every thing. In the lives of those men which have been spent actively in the world, we see, by their example, what is profitable or not for mankind, and ourselves; we are led from their misery to avoid such conduct as theirs; we are encouraged by their fortitude in bearing the events of life, to be firm in the cause of virtue; and, in short, with good precepts impressed on our hearts, biography is highly beneficial, by shewing us how to conduct ourselves in the path of life by the example of those who have traced it before. It must, therefore, immediately strike you, that the lives of eminently pious Christians is the particular species of biography most instructive. What lives [are] most deserving attention I am as yet unable to tell you, but that I can without difficulty be able to find out.

"I would warn every body of the bottomless sea of metaphysics; it was there I dabbled for some time: and, had it not been for the good offices of common sense, there inevitably I should have been lost. Metaphysics are the

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utter destruction of all principle, all religion, because its [their] fundamental maxim is to doubt everything. Metaphysics contain subjects which we are unable to investigate; for the candid metaphysician will tell you that the world has as yet made but little progress in the study: agreeably to the truth of Lord Chesterfield's observation, that metaphysics were like a minuet, that you bow, and figure about for some time, then return to the place whence you set out, make another low bow, and so leave off just as you began. Mathematics certainly quicken the faculties and strengthen the judgment; and though they are apt to make some people require demonstration on subjects which from their nature they are incapable of affording, yet by others Euclid may be studied to the greatest advantage.

"Both logic and mathematics, teach us the art of arguing sophistically, at least the logic of the schools has been turned to no better end, and therefore logic is often the destruction of truth. My Lord Bacon somewhere says, 'Logic is usually taught too early in life. That minds unfurnished with matter should begin their cultivation from such a science, is just like learning to weigh and measure the wind; hence, what in young men should be manly reasoning, often degenerates into ridiculous

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affectation and childish sophistry.' This is most undoubtedly true; for, without a furnished mind the dispute will be merely verbal. 'A man of wit,' says Bayle, 'who applies himself long and closely to logic, seldom fails of becoming a caviller; and by his sophistical subtilties, perplexes and embroils the very thesis he hath defended.' Logic, certainly, is highly useful when applied to direct us in the pursuit after truth, and to lead us to, and assist us in this inquiry. Dr. Watts's treatise on the subject has been ever much esteemed. His logic does not consist of casuistry; but he being a religious man, his system agrees with common sense. I read it some time since, but of course, if the truth of the quotation from my Lord Bacon be admitted, it did me very little good: but at another reading I shall derive greater benefit from it.

"I, with a mind totally unfit for such an abstract, severe, abstruse study, entered into politics; not the mere politics of the day, but on a much more enlarged scale, from which I obtained little profit; pray, therefore, think not of them. As to voyages and travels, I rank them, for the most part, but one degree higher than novels and romances. They are a light, summer, flimsy kind of reading, generally very badly written, and they heap the memory with use-

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less information; but they very seldom, I assure you, without a considerable help from other kinds of learning, improve the understanding, or strengthen the judgment. Learn what is going on under your own nose before you seek to know what the Chinese are about; whether they drink their tea with sugar in their cups, or put the sugar into their mouth, and there let the tea dissolve it.

"The world is so accustomed to extol natural philosophy, that I am almost afraid to enter the lists against it. For my own part, I am of such a dull, tasteless soul, that I derive no pleasure from the classification of flowers and butterflies. I cannot go into the fields, and 'energize,' as the modern philosophers do, and observe and watch the progress of the loves of the plants; nevertheless, I believe, that in general, it is an innocent (I cannot say an instructive) amusement. But when we are told that natural philosophy is the proper religion of the world, that churches were erected from foolish prejudices, that we should adore the Creator only in the creation, from that moment it becomes criminal. Is not this the religion of the heathen? Does not the poor untaught Indian

'See God in clouds, and hear him in the wind?'

Was not this the religion of the world, before

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our Saviour came to earth? Shall it be left to the choice of mankind of what religion they shall be, whether they shall turn the wisdom of God to foolishness, in making the coming of our Saviour nugatory, by clinging to the religion which the Almighty has pronounced to be insufficient, when it is declared that through Christ alone, we can enter into the Kingdom of Heaven? Shall they impiously think the system of redemption needless? The heathen might well admire the wondrous works of nature; but are we to forget the stupendous work of the incarnation, death, resurrection, and ascension of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the benefits which we receive thereby? This was the doctrine of the modern French philosophers, who used to exhort their proselytes to go into the fields to discover the 'causation of causes,' and to 'energize' on the works of their Creator, and to make themselves only of the same religion as the most pitiable of their fellow creatures. Against so high, and venerable a name, as Archdeacon Paley, it would be assuming too much for me to appear; but it is the opinion of one whose sentiments are oftener just than [those of] other men,* that his 'Natural Theology' leads only to deism. I mention this because a young

* His father.

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man, from the character of the author, might be tempted to read it, and implicitly trusting in his word, conclude that there is not so much error in this religion as there certainly is.

" Not being exquisitely sensible to the beauties of nature, no wonder that I should not have a very poetical ear, except to some few productions; nor can I advise any one to wish to turn poet or poetaster, for it seldom enlarges the understanding. It generally betrays a sickly, disordered imagination, and shews a mind incapable of the wholesome exercise of reason and investigation. In poetry, little more than expression is thought of. Take the greatest number of the poets whose works have descended to posterity, and for the most part, you will find their best favoured, their most poetical compositions, to contain very little extension of thought or solidity of judgment. Look at the numerous herd of sonnetteers, with their rhymes of loves, and doves, with their odes to their Delias, and Chloes—their invocations to roses and to butterflies,—who, if they can jingle a few rhymes together, no matter if at the expense of common sense, are called mighty clever, and prodigies of genius, by their admiring friends; and tell me if this is a fit employment for rational beings. To conclude the subject of poetry, in the words of Montes-

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quieu, 'The poet's chief merit consists in putting good sense in shackles, and in overwhelming reason by a heap of ornaments, as the women were formerly encumbered with parade of dress.'

"It cannot but be the wish of every one who is not lost in thoughtless indolence, or utterly devoid of curiosity, to have some knowledge of the laws under which he lives. On this part of learning, I believe I may with some confidence assert it is within my power to direct a person's attention. On reading the history of England, you cannot but be full of reflections on the wondrous changes in the country since the Roman conquest, in its progress to civilization. I have perused, with very considerable delight and instruction, 'Millar's View of the British Constitution from those dark ages to the time of the Settlement of the Crown in William the Third.' It traces the progress of the government in the contests between the king, the nobles, and the people; traces the apparent causes of, and gives many plausible reasons why the constitution of this country is so essentially different from all the nations of Europe. This book cannot but be read with instruction and entertainment; yet, upon recollection, I have somewhere a few objections I made to the work, which you should not read

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it without. At present I forget where they are, but upon necessity I could find them."

That our youthful Aristarchus had still discrimination in his general railing against poetry,* is shewn by the enthusiasm with which he afterwards quotes that beautiful thought of Milton —with whose treasures his memory was richly stored:—

> "How charming is divine philosophy;
> Not harsh and crabb'd as dull fools suppose,
> But musical as is Apollo's lute,
> And a perpetual feast of nectar'd sweets,
> Where no crude surfeit reigns."

* Of Mr. Mills's poetical tastes in maturer years, an interesting relic is preserved in his favourite copy of Gray's works. The volume is Gilbert Wakefield's edition of the poet; and among that accomplished scholar's notes are interspersed above one hundred additional illustrations, in Mr. Mills's hand-writing, of original passages from whence Gray had evidently borrowed his most beautiful thoughts and epithets. These references, which display learning as diversified and elegant as that of the poet himself, are chiefly to the Greek, the Latin, and the Italian classics, and our old English dramatists. "The extensive erudition of Mr. Gray," says a passage in the Quarterly Review (xi. 313), "the various and distant sources from whence he derived his allusions, and the felicity or the dexterity with which he melted them down into a mingled and scarcely distinguishable mass with his own conceptions, entitle his poetry, above that of any modern, to a *variorum* edition." To such a work, Mr. Mills's illustrations would contribute a valuable portion.

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The paper from which so much has already been quoted, closes thus:

"It has been for some time past my custom to collect, into a book, maxims and rules of conduct, which my observation and reading suggest. These rules strengthen my mind, and will give it a character of solidity. When nearly overcome by my passions, they have often restored me to reason; when at a loss how to act, I have often been determined in my conduct by my statute book, for its laws are very comprehensive.

"It is from your friendly, open, generous manner to me, that I have written thus much. Think not that I flatter, 'for what advancement can I hope from thee?' Take my meaning from the spirit of the words, and not the letter, for I have not had leisure to do justice to many of the subjects on which I have treated. There are many things I have to urge in favour of the general intention of the whole, which must be reserved for our next long walk. From being sensible of its deficiency let me pray you, if you think it too severe, and that I have not proved my assertions, to state all your difficulties and doubts, and I will endeavour to answer them; I will accomplish the labour, let it be ever so Herculean, to remove them."

During the summer of 1808, Mr. Mills's

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studies were interrupted by a tour to the Northern Lakes, in which he was the companion of his father, whose declining health suggested the necessity of change of scene, and recreation of mind. Upon this occasion Charles wrote to his brother: "We set off to-morrow week. My father says we are to make a kind of journal, which shall be worth any body's reading; but, in the name of authorship, are there not enough books about the Lakes already? Besides, how can I assist him? I am no poet, I have no notion of description, I have no imagination, I do not understand the style of writing travels, for I never read in all my life any tours, and I hope I never shall. Something too much of this nonsense. My father sets his heart upon this journey; and I go out with the principle, that no endeavour of mine shall be wanting to make it pleasant to him."

And a little after he wrote again, on the eve of this journey, more playfully. "This is a mere matter-of-fact letter; but, if you have a soul capable of enjoying the charms of poetic description, if you admire depth united to brilliancy of thought, if you wish for splendid and diversified imagery, and perspicuous arrangement, wait for the bookselling season, and expect a magnificent quarto volume containing the adventures of Samuel Gillam Mills, the

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father, and Charles Mills, the son, in the counties of Cumberland, Lancaster, and others.

"To-morrow, at twelve minutes before two, *p. m.*, from the inn called the Blue Bell, in the Haymarket, we commence our peregrinations, and your prayers and best wishes go with us," &c.

While on this tour he wrote again.

"DEAR G——,

"I am very glad that you confirm my opinion that my father is comfortable: thus the great end of our journey is accomplished. While he is writing to my mother, I will have a little chit chat with you. It has been already made known to you, that we have seen most of the Lakes, and the only material disappointment we met with was, we were not able to ascend Skiddaw from the haziness of the weather. This mountain was not near so high as I expected; but, as old Johnson says, 'the expectations of ignorance are often unreasonable.' Perhaps its enormous bulk made its height appear less. Windermere is the most pleasing to my remembrance; we saw that in the finest weather, and probably had I seen any other of the Lakes first, I should have said the same. I soon got tired of them, for there is such an abominable sameness. * * * * * * When I

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return (oh, blessed time!), if you want to hear about such things as rocks, and stones, I may perhaps talk of them. The worst is, we have very little conversation; I have not culled one thing to put in my books. Conversing merely about the country gets very tiresome, and wants that interest you have in talking of literature, men, or manners. Such conversations do not come home to one's feelings.

"We have been twice to church. At Liverpool the service was most slovenly performed, although it was the principal church; and the first lesson, which was one of the most interesting and instructive chapters in the Bible, namely, that which relates the interview between Nathan and David, and which of itself one would think would make the coldest heart read it in an impressive and energetic manner, was delivered with all that indifference with which I read, as we enter every village, 'all vagrants and beggars will be prosecuted.' The sermon was execrable."

Of his early letters, one more, written nearly at this same period, shall here be offered, because it illustrates both the general tone of his mind at the time, and his disposition for theatrical criticism.

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" DEAR G——,

" In obedience to your commands I went to Drury Lane, to the play of *Rule a Wife and Have a Wife*. Elliston enacted the assumed fool with much natural idiotcy, and helplessness: he being much more pliable than Don Dismallo,* did not play it with so much sameness. Now, old Jack's silliness consists in only looking down on the ground, and a perpetual twirling of the hat he carries in his hand. But Elliston broke forth, as Altea calls it, with as much mock dignity and violence as a tragedy queen. It was but a copy of old Jack's. Though Tobin has taken the idea of the *Honey Moon* from this play, yet the character of Leon is but a sketch; that of the Duke a more finished picture. In the latter you see more of the methods used to tame the termagant; and it is in representing this part of the character Elliston excels. Now there being no scenes in Leon of this nature, we cannot, from Elliston's excellent performance of the one character, suppose that he will play the other equally well. One scene to be sure there is in the fourth act, which something resembles the *Honey Moon;* and this Elliston acted better than the rest. Mrs. Jordan was not half so

* John Kemble.

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animated and pleasing as the interesting Miss Smith. The scenes between her and Bannister, at which at the other house you have roared, made little impression on the risible muscles of the audience. Dr. A—— sat next me. He does not seem to think with 'The Parson,' who, on being asked to go one Saturday night to the play, or opera (I forget which), replied, 'No; he could not think of going hissing-hot from the play-house into the pulpit.' It being sacrament Sunday, the doctor preached; and a most *primissimo* sermon it was. The church very badly attended. I was telling my mother, at dinner, that I had heard just about as good a sermon as ever was preached, when my father said (with a half laugh), 'You do not mean to assert that Dr. A—— is as good a preacher as Mr. Mathew.' 'Sir,' said I; 'they have both the same principles, the same earnestness, and knowledge of human nature; and the same application of Scripture to the present times.' 'Then,' replied he, 'there is no difference between them.' 'Only in expression, Sir;' rejoined I.

"To conclude after the manner of General Castanos—

"May the benignant lady of Compostella have your Excellency in her powerful protec-

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tion, and may your Excellency live many years, is the constant prayer of

" Most excellent Senor,

" Your most devoted

" CARLOS."

" Senor Don G. G. Mellos."

At the close of the year 1809, the term of his legal clerkship expired. About a year before he had sustained the misfortune of losing his excellent father; and this heavy calamity came upon him at a crisis in his life, when he stood most in need of the anxious exertion and experienced judgment of a parent, to forward his talents, and direct his views. This bereavement proved, in the sequel, the destruction of his best prospects in the law. He still, however, persevered in completing his legal education; and immediately on the expiration of his articled term, placed himself for a year's study in conveyancing, under Mr. Humphreys, a gentleman well known to the world by his extensive practice and his able professional writings. Acting on the principle that, as a considerable sum of money was paid for the advantages of this instruction, it became his duty to derive as much professional improvement as possible from the opportunity secured for him, he was punctual in his daily attend-

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ance of nine hours at chambers; and throughout the year 1810, which he thus passed with Mr. Humphreys, his application to his legal studies was laborious and unremitting.

Yet, singular as the fact may appear, this was the epoch at which the love of literature began to obtain the decided ascendancy over all other pursuits in his mind. A passage in one of his letters, at this period (10th January 1810), proves both how earnestly his attention continued to be directed to theology, and with what avidity he caught up an argument favourable to the indulgence of his intellectual tastes, —that the attainment of eminence in general literature is not incompatible with professional pursuits.

"I read the greatest part of the Bishop of Lincoln's book, and concluded that, though at times heavy, yet that it might be useful to those who are satisfied with a superficial knowledge of the subjects upon which it treats. But a person must have advanced a very little way in his theological studies to gain much from it. Mr. Herbert Marsh's book upon the authenticity of the Pentateuch, is far above the Bishop's essay upon that point. There is a book published under the title of 'Horæ Biblicæ,' by Mr. Butler, an eminent conveyancer of Lincoln's Inn, which contains a much better account of the Jews, and a more con-

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clusive statement of the arguments for the inspiration of the New Testament. The case of this gentleman is an irrefragable argument against those who seem to say that, if a man attempts to learn any thing but his profession, it will be at the expense of professional knowledge. We read that Cæsar in the midst of preparations for battle, marked the revolutions of the heavenly bodies; that Brutus could study amidst the horrors of war, and passed the night prior to the battle of Philippi, in perusing the works of an historian; that, in modern times, Boerhaave could spend an hour every morning in prayer and meditation; and that Dr. Mead, before he entered upon the business of the day, could read a considerable part of scripture. Yet the vulgar mind, measuring every thing by its own acquisitions and powers, wonders, in the face of all history, that a man should, like Mr. Butler, possess the knowledge of two sciences, and with many a 'head shake,' most sagaciously concludes that it is dangerous to walk even at an humble distance in the path of these great men; but that it is better to chain down the mind to the mere acquisition of wealth, and to pass our leisure hours in the sentiment and sing-song of the day; to study those 'gentle historians,' as Mr. Burke calls them, namely, compilers of

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peerages, in order that we may become a vocabulary of lords, and never as we value our lives, be deficient in manners, or offend in one instance against the book of books, 'Lord Chesterfield's Letters,' a work in the composition of which, as it has been admirably said, his lordship was assisted by the dancing-master, the perfumer, and the devil."

While Mr. Mills's days, as it has been seen, were scrupulously sacrificed to duty, his evenings were reserved for studies more congenial with his tastes. At nine o'clock he would return to his lodgings, and trim his lamp; and the greater number of hours, which should have been given to sleep, were consumed in reading. To the anxious remonstrance of his mother on the injurious consequences with which his health was threatened by this intense nightly application, his only reply was, "nothing CAN be done without it;" and still he persevered. It was now that Oriental literature attracted his attention; and the first draught of his history of Muhammedanism was the result of this new pursuit. "I well remember," says the same friend, to whom we are indebted for so many interesting particulars of his early life, "his once telling me, at this time, that after having on a Saturday remained for his usual hours at Lincoln's-Inn, he sat up all the ensuing

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night reading and annotating Knolles's History of the Turks: and then, without sleep or rest, walked down to his mother's house at Greenwich, on Sunday morning. Nor was this a singular case: for he did the same thing, to my knowledge, several times. His practice was, when sleep began to overpower him, to bathe his hands and face in cold water, and to pace the room for a quarter of an hour: thus refreshed, he resumed his labours."

It was an amiable peculiarity in Mr. Mills's character, that, wherever he placed his esteem and regard, he laboured to elevate the individual to his own mental standard; and one strong instance has been adduced of the deep solicitude with which he engaged in promoting the mental improvement of a friend: a paper, composed at this epoch (1810), affords a pleasing and curious little instance of the warm-hearted feeling with which he could extend the same anxiety to the object of a friend's affections. An attachment had been formed between one of his intimates and a young lady, who afterwards became his wife. For her guidance and instruction in modern history, Mr. Mills drew up "A brief Summary of some of the Events of the greatest Magnitude in the History of Continental Europe, from the Subversion of the Western Roman Empire by

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Odoacer, till the Subversion of the Germanic Empire by Buonaparte." This paper is written in a colloquial style, and without much formal precision of language: but it would be difficult to point to any synopsis in which the great landmarks in the modern history of Europe are defined in their relative prominence with so much judgment and clearness. The closing paragraph of this little tract is remarkable, as expressing that admiration of the spirit of chivalry, which pre-disposed him to the choice, and animated him in the execution, of the last production of his life.

"A few remarks upon the House of Hapsburgh will not, it is presumed, form an improper conclusion of this sketch.

"The origin of the House of Hapsburgh is traced to Eticho, Duke of Suabia and Alsace, in the year 700. It became divided into two branches, that of Lorraine, and that of Austria, or Hapsburgh. By the marriage of Maria-Theresa of Austria, with Francis of Lorraine, in 1745, the families, after a separation of *ten* centuries, were re-united. The House of Austria have been remarkable for their six fortunate marriages. By them it gained the Tyrol, Bohemia, Hungary, the Netherlands, &c.

"I know that the sentiments and language of chivalry are, in these calculating days, re-

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garded as visionary and absurd; but an event has lately happened, on the continent of Europe, that for a moment recalls to the mind all those exalted ideas of virtue and honour, which, in better times, were, next to religion, the grand springs of human action, and formed the cement of society. It surely might have been thought, that when that delightful vision, whom Mr. Burke, with such poetical beauty and delicacy describes, as 'glittering like the morning star, full of life, and splendour, and joy;' when she, a daughter, too, of the illustrious Maria-Theresa, was sacrificed at the shrine of philosophy and pride, the imperial house of Hapsburgh had received the most afflicting of all calamities and insults. But we find that it was reserved for a severer shock. The murder of Maria-Antoinette, insulting as it was, touched not the *internal honour* of the house; but, by the late marriage of Buonaparte with a descendant of that Maria-Theresa, and a niece of that Maria-Antoinette, this *internal honour* is for ever sullied. The present members of this once splendid and illustrious family are so immersed in corruption, so lost to every feeling of virtue and true nobility, that they scarcely merit a thought. But, if we reverence the names of the dead, and respect the orders of rank and civilized society; if we experience pleasure

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—mixed with melancholy as it may be—in tracing a long line of ancestors, and marking in that line the virtuous, the valiant, and the wise, we cannot but lament that the imperial family of Hapsburgh should have received poison into its veins, and be tainted with the foulest of all plebeian blood."

The period between 1810 and 1813—extending from his twenty-second to his twenty-fifth year—offers nothing remarkable in Mr. Mills's literary life. It was passed in a noiseless and unobtrusive appropriation of all the hours which remained at his own disposal to the purposes of study, and in a series of disappointments, connected with his professional prospects, on which it would be useless to expatiate. Several negociations for the purchase of a partnership with different solicitors were entertained and abandoned in succession, as either not satisfying his views of respectability, or not falling within his present means to accomplish; and now it was that he keenly experienced, and deeply lamented, the deprivation which he had suffered in his father's death. Perhaps there is little reason to regret the difficulties which at this epoch crossed him in the path of his legal pursuits: since he subsequently enjoyed an ample sufficiency of fortune for his moderate wishes, and was unquestionably to his own

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conviction the happier for having escaped from the trammels of a profession, to which he was far from cherishing any partiality. As soon as he could permit himself to follow unrestrained the bent of his tastes, and to divide his life between the successful cultivation of letters and the interchange of friendship, which he prized yet more highly, he attained a degree of tranquil enjoyment rarely experienced amidst the ordinary cares of life, and the more enviable because it had its source in the best feelings and highest aspirations of our nature. But the interval which passed in the vexatious uncertainty of his future plans, was one neither of ease nor contentment; and he naturally grew more impatient and restless as it was protracted. The love of literature, and the ambition of literary celebrity, were already in secret the ruling passions of his heart; but the professional expectations to which he had been educated, seemed too desirable to be resigned without a struggle. It was in this dissatisfied and unsettled temper that the yearnings of a proud spirit broke forth; and, in some sudden gust of irritability, he was betrayed to exclaim to his brother, "*Fame* is what I want:" adding, immediately, "so, now the secret is out."

But, while under the influence of these feelings, his pursuits were suddenly suspended,

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and the whole complexion of his prospects altered, by the occurrence of an alarming illness. In the summer of 1813, he was, one evening, after his usual occupations, walking slowly to the library of the London Institution, then situated in Coleman-street, when he felt his mouth fill with blood; and the gush from the lungs was so violent, that, on reaching St. Sepulchre's church, he was obliged to rest his head against its wall, and suffer the blood to flow. He afterwards spoke of the surprise of the passing throng at the sight; but the discharge having ceased, he characteristically persevered in his original intention, and went to the library, where he remained reading until a late hour. He returned as usual to his brother's house, with whom he was then residing, and retired to rest without mentioning the circumstance: but, in the middle of the night, he was awakened by the sense of suffocation, for the internal bleeding had recurred with still greater violence than before. Medical assistance was of course immediately sought; and his complaint was at once declared to proceed from a ruptured blood-vessel within the lungs. Both by reason of this vessel being probably a branch of the pulmonary artery, and on account of the great quantity of blood which he had lost, and was still losing, the danger was ex-

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treme and imminent. But he had fortunately the benefit of the best advice and care, both in the consultation of Dr. Ainslie, and in the unremitting attention of his friend Mr. (now Dr.) Anthony T. Thomson. The most active measures were immediately adopted by these gentlemen, and happily succeeded in stopping the hæmorrhage; although for several months the spitting of blood occasionally returned, and evinced the precarious tenure by which his life was still held.

At the crisis of his malady, Mr. Mills betrayed not the slightest emotion of alarm. When he became sensible of his danger, and believed himself dying, his first address to a friend who entered his room, was in his usual firm and calm tone, "that it was all over with him;" and he communicated to his brother with perfect composure, the arrangements which he desired to make in anticipation of his decease. Throughout his illness he exhibited the same fearless tranquillity of a mind, neither intimidated by the approach, nor unprepared for the hour, of dissolution. But the event was happily averted: his life, all too brief as it proved, was still reserved to accomplish its honourable purpose, and to gladden, for a few years, the existence of others. Before the autumn, his safety was sufficiently secured to admit of his

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removing to the sea-side; and he spent the few months of that season in the Isle of Wight and at Brighton. The severe winter of 1813-14, however, racked his enfeebled frame, from head to foot, with excruciating rheumatic pains; and the following summer so far failed in re-establishing his health, that obscure symptoms of pulmonary consumption began to develope themselves. He was therefore strongly recommended to pass the ensuing winter at Nice; and accompanied by a medical friend, he accordingly crossed the channel in the month of September, 1814.

This continental tour, together with a winter residence in a milder climate, though from several untoward circumstances it disappointed his expectations of pleasure, had the most beneficial effects upon his general health. The tendency to disease in the lungs, though temporarily subdued, was not of course completely removed: but his general constitution was invigorated; and the stock of health accumulated at this period, may be regarded as that which supported him through the remaining eleven years of his existence.

As he travelled by the usual continental routes, there is little in the mere beaten track of his tour to deserve attention or arrest our notice. But the letters which he addressed to

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his friends in England, are not without interest; as abounding in that originality of thought and observation which belonged to his mind. Most of these letters have been preserved, in consequence of a wish declared in one of the earliest of them, that they might not be destroyed, "for they were the only memorials which he should have of the impressions on his mind of the various objects around him, and at some future time they would serve to refresh fading ideas." But, with one exception, they are not here presented to the reader's notice: for the scenes and objects of curiosity of which they treat, have been a thousand times described by successive tourists; and no qualities of the writer can repair the want of attraction in subjects, from which every particle of novelty has long been exhausted.

Proceeding by one of the usual routes through Dieppe and Rouen to Paris, Mr. Mills remained for some time in the French capital; little charmed with its round of gay frivolities, heartily disgusted with the manners of its people, but riveted to the spot with admiration of those treasures of art, of which it was then still suffered to remain the unnatural repository. The single letter extracted from the collection, sufficiently expresses these mingled feelings. Adopting none of the dogmas of criticism at

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second hand, the ardour with which he had applied to the study of the great master pieces of antiquity, appears the more natural and unaffected; and the unbiassed freedom, as well as the accuracy of his judgment, is here remarkably shewn. The concluding and lighter topic of the letter, which was addressed to his sister, is also in pleasing accordance with his habitual purity of sentiment and taste.

* * * * * * * *

"I passed the early part of this morning in examining the triumphal arch erected by Buonaparte in the court of the Tuilleries. It appears to be on the plan, if my memory does not fail me, of that of Septimus Severus at Rome. It is constructed with all that elegance and beauty, which are the attributes or constituents of triumphal arches. The basso-relievos represent the arms of France and Italy, and some of the great military exploits of Buonaparte's life, in most admirable workmanship. On the summit, drawing a Roman car, from which the statue of Napoleon has been removed, are four bronze horses, stolen by Buonaparte from one of the churches at Venice; but their situation is so lofty, and they are so much encompassed by the car and the golden figures of their conductors, that their merits or defects cannot be estimated. The remainder of the morning I en-

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joyed in the Louvre, particularly in the halls or gallery compartments in which are placed the statues and busts. It is a great pity that the painted ceiling and gilded ornaments are suffered to remain. All this frippery but ill accords with the severity and grandeur of sculpture.

"The Capitoline Venus deserves all the praise which is usually bestowed upon it. A face of more perfect beauty does not exist. It is elegant, modest, and tender. The natural fall of the hair, and the humidity of the drapery, are among the finest effects of statuary. Of all the elegant positions in which the female form can be placed, that of Sabina, the wife of the Emperor Hadrian, is the first. Colossal statues of Marcus Aurelius, Antinous, Alexander the Great, the rivers Nile and Tiber, personified and deified, are admirable. The sagacity of Lycurgus, the intelligence and frankness of Thucydides, the simplicity and grandeur of Virgil, the placidity, seriousness, and mind of Euripides, spoke from their several marbles. Menander, seated in his chair, is a perfect model of an attitude of repose; while the figure of the Roman priest about to sacrifice a victim, is characterized by the sternness and severity of the mien. Why is the formerly received opinion changed, and the preference given to

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the fighting gladiator? The whole strength of the body is indeed most wonderfully exerted to a single point; but in that statue, which is vulgarly called the dying gladiator, the more difficult and more interesting picture is represented of the contortions of the pain, and the overpressing sickness and faintness of death.

"It would be far worse than heresy to speak in dispraise of the Venus de' Medici; but with all due admiration for the inimitable modesty of her form and attitude, yet her face appeared to me insipid and lifeless, when brought into comparison with that of the Capitoline Venus. In the noblest place of the hall stands the Belvidere Apollo. The elegance of the figure, the curling of the hair, the disposition of drapery over the arm, seem more and more excellent the longer you gaze upon them. But I was at a loss to determine the character of the countenance. Mr. Spence dwells upon its indignation as being too excessive for a god, against such an ignoble object as the serpent Python. Other writers mention the air of satisfaction occasioned by the certainty of victory which is seated on his brow; but this complexity of passion, statuary perhaps never represented. In my judgment, there was no mind or passion in the countenance: at the most there was consciousness of superiority;

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but from the best attention and examination I could give it, I thought the expression was merely that certain elevation of mien, which must be the natural consequence of such a noble and dignified attitude.

" To visit the group of the Laocoon is worthy a long journey of distance and trouble. What a paltry criticism is that which has been handed from age to age, that the figures of the boys are too large. Virgil certainly did represent them as mere children; but since sculpture and painting are not servile imitation, what artist can think himself compelled to copy every minute particular of description. The same principles in the pursuit of the ideal in beauty which make him neglect the trifling parts of his subject, authorize him to make all things subservient to his general purpose. Of more importance is the remark, that the father is represented as suffering under mere bodily pain, and as wanting in sympathetic affection for his children. This observation is correct, and the effect is in great dissonance from the very substance of the story. Finer figures than the two boys it is impossible to conceive. One, the smallest, is sinking under the extremity of pain; the other, though neither of the serpents have yet hurt him, turns his eyes to his father, and seems to shudder with horror at the spectacle.

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"The number of Englishmen in Paris, is really immense; but I am happy to add that the number of Englishwomen is comparatively but few. They shine like stars among the dull uninteresting ladies of Paris. Surely the beauties of the latter have been too much praised. They have no bloom, nor youthful appearance, nor intelligence. Their complexion they render delightful; but how evanescent and lifeless are mere red and white. A good set of teeth is not to be found among all the Parisian women: they are either decayed or lost. French ladies never blush! How then can they be called handsome, for is not blushing the very soul of beauty? To symmetry of proportion, I hope, for the sake of their characters, they have not pretended. If they were to do so, their vanity would be stronger than any passion in the breast of any individual on earth. There is not an agreeable or even decent figure, or a graceful step, among all the ladies of this capital. The pollution, turbulence, and dissipation of Paris, are sufficiently offensive to the ruder feelings of my sex. But an Englishwoman cannot dwell in any of its houses, or walk in any of its streets, without having all those feelings, which are so honourable to her nature, irritated and shocked every moment of her stay. Her sensitive delicacy must be left behind

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when she lands on the shores of France, and an air of indifference assumed. Her love of the fine arts will be gratified, and her taste for them enriched and improved by the contemplation of the splendid robberies of the French; but such knowledge will be acquired at the weighty cost of many severe attacks upon the dignity and purity of her mind.

"I have not space for a new subject, and therefore I will only conclude with the assurance, though I am sure it is an unnecessary one, that

"I am,

"With great regard, &c."

Warned by the approach of the cold season to hasten his departure from Paris, he quitted it for the south, and proceeded at once to Nice, his destined residence for the winter. Here, with returning health, his mind began to languish for its usual literary nourishment; and the winter was passed in yearnings after the occupations and society of home, and in complaints of the dull and monotonous tedium of Nice. The season, too, was provokingly adverse: the rains were for a time incessant; and these were succeeded by so uncommon a severity of cold, as almost totally to destroy the orange plantations, which fill the vicinity of Nice, and

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prove the genial mildness of its usual climate. Still Mr. Mills's health had continued to amend; and, on the first appearance of spring, he escaped from his durance at Nice, to prosecute the tour of Italy with renovated spirits, and with lively anticipation of the "delight which awaited him in contemplating the glories of Rome, the impressive monuments of Pæstum, and the cities where Livy and Virgil abode." But he had only reached Turin and Genoa, when the news of the landing of Buonaparte from Elba arrested his course, like that of all British travellers; and, turning homeward, through Milan, over the Simplon to Geneva, and thence to Stuttgard, Frankfort, and Brussells, he reached England at the close of April, 1815.

Very shortly after Mr. Mills's return to England, his future pursuits naturally became the question of most earnest and anxious consideration. His own predilections had never led him to the law; he had not acquired any love for its practice; and two years of freedom from the restraints of business, and of indulgence in the choice of amusements and studies, were not likely to have made a profession more agreeable in prospect, which had always been so distasteful in experience. His mere inclination, if he had felt justified in consulting that

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alone, was now, in 1815, most decidedly opposed to the resumption of his professional life: yet no better alternative seemed to be left to him. To abandon at once, and without an equivalent, all the fruits of a legal education, which had been acquired at considerable cost, was forbidden by every maxim of common prudence; and, after some ineffectual efforts to obtain an eligible appointment in one of the civil offices of government, he applied himself zealously to complete his permanent settlement in the law. He resolved to purchase a partnership with an established solicitor; and he was on the point of concluding a desirable treaty for this purpose, when he encountered an unexpected obstacle. In the course of the negociation, the fact incidentally appeared, that he had not been in the actual practice of his profession for more than two years; and, on that ground, the gentleman with whom he was in treaty, declined to proceed. This was a death-blow to all legal projects: for, the objection being good (and this Mr. Mills himself admitted, although it had not before occurred to him), it would be likely to present itself again, in whatever quarter he should negociate.

In this suspension of his projects, an accident shortly arose, which at once fixed the direction of his purposes, and realized the secret and

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long cherished aspirations of his mind. The first draught of his "History of Muhammedanism" had been finished, as already observed, before his illness and visit to the continent. The MS. had been fairly transcribed, bound, and presented as an offering of affection to his brother; and this volume being now lent to a lady, was, by chance, seen on her table by Sir John Malcolm; whose name is familiar to every reader, as honourably associated with Oriental history, no less by his valuable writings, than by his eminent services in our Eastern Empire. Sir John Malcolm requested the loan of the MS.; and his perusal of it was followed by the expression of his wish for a personal introduction to the author. Mr. Mills called upon him; and the result of the visit was a warm recommendation to publish the MS., which was immediately followed. Sir John, with a spirit of liberal politeness which did him honour, supplied Mr. Mills from his own collection with the use of many valuable Oriental works; the revision and extension of the MS. were diligently prosecuted; and in a short time the volume was ready for the press.

The first edition of the "History of Muhammedanism" was given to the world at the commencement of the year 1817; and to Sir John Malcolm it was appropriately inscribed, "as a

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testimony of gratitude for the encouragement which it had received from him, and of respect for his great attainments in the languages and history of the East." The reception which the work experienced was sufficiently favourable. "The History of Muhammedanism" was welcomed in various journals with a gratifying measure of critical commendation; and the ready sale which the work experienced, induced Mr. Mills, in a very few months, to prepare a second edition for the press.

The circumstances under which the reprinting of the volume was undertaken, are illustrative of that generous love of fame, and of that regard for a well-founded reputation in letters, which were ever superior, in Mr. Mills's mind, to sordid considerations of pecuniary advantage. He was not so easily pleased as the world with his own productions. The execution of the first edition of his history had been far from satisfying his own standard of excellence; and he became convinced, shortly after its publication, that his book was susceptible of great improvement. He, therefore, began immediately to read anew on the subject; and added materially both to the bulk and the value of his history. "Stimulated to fresh exertions," as he himself declared, "by the success of his attempt, he reconsidered the

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whole subject, perused all the strictures that had appeared on his work, and read a vast variety of Oriental books." He candidly acknowledged, in an advertisement to his second edition, that "increase of knowledge had frequently caused change both in his statements and opinions;" and he freely admitted the few errors which had been observed in his original text. As soon as he had completed his emendations and additions, he sent his new MS. to he press, and carefully destroyed all the copies of the first edition, which still remained unsold.

Into an elaborate analysis of the merits of any of Mr. Mills's writings, it is not within the purpose of the present memoir to enter; and their general characteristics are, besides, already known to the favourable judgment of the public. Yet of the "History of Muhammedanism," it may be permitted to observe, that its early execution was not unworthy of the maturity of the author's mind. This work has not, indeed, acquired the same universal popularity as some of his later productions: but it preserves a respectable place in our modern literature; and forming, as it does, the only authority in any language for the complete history of the Muhammedan religion, it is not, perhaps, likely to be superseded by future

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attempts on the same subject. It has been translated into the French;* and has, from the Oriental interest of its contents, enjoyed as extensive a circulation in British India as in the mother country. In one respect it certainly offered an auspicious promise of those powers of reflection and judgment, which unhappily suffered a premature extinction, at the very moment when they had only attained, without fully exhibiting, their meridian strength. The industry of a dull man might have accumulated the mass of historical materials which were embodied in this work: the methodical experience of a practiced writer of common ability might have condensed those materials into historical arrangement. But the composition of the narrative portions of Mr. Mills's Muhammedanism, is the least part of the value of his work. Incomparably the best executed portions of the volume are those which admitted the exercise of philosophical inquiry and deduction. Such are his brief dissertation on the causes of the success of the Muhammedan arms and religion; his view of the present state, extent, and influence of Islamism; his account of the literature and sciences

* Œuvres Complètes de Charles Mills. Traduites de l'Anglais par P. Tiby. 7 vols. 8vo. Paris. 1825. vol. 4me, contenant l'Histoire du Mahométisme.

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of the Saracens and Turks; and, above all, his admirable chapter (the fifth) on the Koran. Of that chapter it may confidently be asserted, without the suspicion of partiality, or the fear of contradiction, that it exhibits the most satisfactory and the best philosophical analysis, which has ever been attempted of the theological, moral, and juridical system of the Muselmans.

To the mere historical style of the volume, however, the praise either of originality or well matured taste cannot in candour be assigned. Mr. Mills had unfortunately been too much captivated by the elaborate elegance and the polished rotundity of Gibbon's periods. We have seen his pointed reprobation of the insidious tendency of that historian's theological opinions: but he was not the less sensible to the charms of his various learning, his felicitous profusion of reference, his pictorial powers of description, and his masterly delineation of human character. During one period of Mr. Mills's life—that in fact immediately previous to the first composition of his Muhammedanism,—Gibbon had been his favourite study "by day and night;" and so perfect and minute had hence become his acquaintance with the voluminous text of that great authority, that there remained scarcely a page in it which was not

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familiarly retained on his mind. All its most splendid passages he had even committed to memory.* He naturally and insensibly imitated the graces which had won his youthful admiration, and were ever present to his remembrance; and the objection was well founded, that the "History of Muhammedanism" too palpably reflected the diction and manner of the "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire." The same peculiarity was in a less degree visible in his subsequent history of the Crusades; and Mr. Mills would sometimes in conversation playfully vindicate the necessity of adopting some such style as that of Gibbon, for purposes of rapid narration, of which the events require to be treated rather in compression and allusion than in lengthened detail.

* A few years before Mr. Mills's decease, it fell to his lot to be suddenly consulted by the projectors of the expurgate edition of Gibbon; and their lively surprise was excited by the thorough acquaintance which he immediately evinced, on the spur of the occasion, with every part of the work. The late Mr. Bowdler, though very many years his senior, was glad to defer with respectful attention to his opinions: but that gentleman died before he had enjoyed the benefit of Mr. Mills's revision of his labours; and it is due to the memory of the latter to observe that he is responsible neither for the plan nor the execution of the edition. It is well remembered that he had little partiality for the design; and the circumstance is mentioned at all only to illustrate that affection for a favourite author which influenced his own early style.

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And certainly, such is the serious truth of the remark, that whoever has attempted historical abridgment will not fail to recognize the frequent convenience of Gibbon's periods. But, that Mr. Mills himself saw the defects of that style, is evident from the care with which he afterwards avoided them in his own writings. The "Travels of Ducas," and the "History of Chivalry," are altogether free from the marks of this early imitation; in the successive reprints of the "History of the Crusades," they were gradually obliterated; and the few lingering traces will be found to have disappeared altogether from the forthcoming edition of that work, which it was his latest literary labour to revise.

The gratifying prospects of lettered distinction which were afforded by the reception of his earliest work, confirmed Mr. Mills in the ardent purpose of devoting his future existence to literature. A single sentence in a letter, written soon after the publication of the first edition of the "History of Muhammedanism," strikingly exhibits the generous ambition by which he was actuated; and more insight into his habitual views may here be gathered from these few words, carelessly and half-jestingly uttered, than could have been conveyed by a formal declaration. "A brother of

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Mrs. T——, a merchant of Liverpool, has wished me to go there as a lawyer. But no: bread and cheese, independence, and posterity for ever!" At rather a later period, in another letter, in which he was consulting the same friend on a new literary project, he will be found to state in a graver tone the relative weight of his motives: "My first object in literature is intellectual improvement; my second, reputation; my third, money. 'Letters are their own reward,' should be the wished-for principle of every literary man. No hunting for benefices by the pen."

His choice of a new subject was not made without some hesitation. He at first thought seriously of a life of Lord Bacon; but this scheme he resolved to relinquish for a while, on the unaffected conviction that he was not yet equal to the task. At the moment, this modest abandonment of the project was certainly only intended to be temporary; and it is much to be regretted that he did not resume the purpose at a later epoch of his life. The world will judge of the capacity of his genius, only by the measure of his published writings; but these, with all their excellences, were susceptible, from their very nature, of displaying only the least part of his ability; and the few individuals who best knew the real compass of his intellect, and the immense range of his

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learning, can be alone aware how totally inadequate were any of the works on which he did engage, to call forth the full vigour of his powers. He never had a subject which could either fill his mind to its utmost enlargement, or exercise his faculties of reflection to the full tension of their strength. Such a subject he might have found in a life of Lord Bacon: because the undertaking, on the scale which he meditated, would have led him fully to examine and analyze the philosophical writings of that great master mind of our country. It may well be deplored by Mr. Mills's friends, that for some such undertaking his life was not spared: for he has left only an 'unfinished greatness,' from which all that he was, and the more that he might have been, if it had pleased Providence to prolong his life, can but imperfectly be inferred.

It was after the short interval of hesitation produced by this scheme, that Mr. Mills undertook his "History of the Crusades;" and to this new work he immediately applied himself with the characteristic energy and animation, which he threw into every literary pursuit. Within a period of less than two years, he had gone through the requisite preparation of reading for his subject, and had completed the two octavo volumes of his history: a rapidity of

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execution certainly not obtained by any omission of that original and laborious research, which he justly numbered among the first duties of the historian. But, during this epoch in his literary life, he mingled little in society; and residing with his mother (in Sloane-street, London) the only recreation which he permitted to himself was an occasional excursion into the country. In each of these brief visits, he was usually accompanied by the last executed portions of his work; and these were always subjected to the severe examination of a friend or two, of whose judgment he had some opinion, and on whose sincerity, at least, and anxious regard for his reputation, he might more securely repose. This continued his practice with all his subsequent compositions; and it was prompted by an earnest desire for candid criticism, which is not of very frequent occurrence in the annals of literary friendship. In this unrestrained and delightful interchange of confidence, no opinion, as coming from an inferior mind, was heard by him without attention, or rejected without consideration; every objection was carefully canvassed; and a fortunate thought, or a favourable suggestion, was as cheerfully acknowledged as it was readily adopted.

The same sincerity which he exacted from

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his bosom friends, he himself freely rendered in return; and with it the benefit of a superior intellect and a more solid judgment. Wherever his opinion was asked, either in literature, or in the ordinary difficulties of life, he bestowed it with a straight-forward integrity of purpose, which was neither daunted by the fear of giving offence, nor checked by any considerations of false delicacy. Upon this point, he was actuated by a high and even stern principle of duty; and he at no time hesitated between the choice of pleasing a friend with ill merited praise, or of ministering to his mental or moral improvement by unreserved censure.

The "History of the Crusades" was finished in the summer of 1819, and published at the opening of the following year. Its success was immediate. The first edition had scarcely been six months before the world, when it became necessary to commence the printing of a second; and Mr. Mills at once reaped the desired and gratifying reward of his labours in the secure establishment of a sound literary reputation. The original judgment of the public has since been confirmed by a continued and steady demand for the book; and the fourth edition is a sufficient proof of the increasing estimation which it has yearly been acquiring. Criticism is needless

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on a production, upon which the enduring verdict of the public has already been so familiarly passed. The "History of the Crusades" has taken its rank among the standard volumes of our libraries, and may safely be left to maintain its own character in our historical literature.

After the publication of the "History of the Crusades,"* a long pause ensued before Mr. Mills could determine on any new undertaking. This interval was occupied with the discussion of various projects; but of the difficulties which, in an age so exhausted of originality as ours, attend the selection of subjects that shall be at once eligible and novel, no man of letters will need to be told. A passage or two from Mr. Mills's correspondence, at this period, will best explain some of the views which he entertained, and of the embarrassment which he felt:—

"As I have told you, the Crusades are suc-

* The "History of the Crusades" obtained a compliment for its author, which may seem to deserve a slight passing notice in this place. It is well known that the ancient order of Knights Templars has never ceased to claim an existence in Europe, with a regular and generally an illustrious succession of French Grand-Masters, from the era of its famous persecution, in the fourteenth century, to the present times. The historian of the Crusades, and of the Order of the Temple, was appropriately considered by that society an eligible member of their body; and Mr. Mills was accordingly elected.

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ceeding gloriously. Longmans want me to work again. They want a full and unbroken History of Rome, in ten or twelve volumes, from the monarchy, through the republic, down to the overthrow of the Western Empire by the Goths. They think that, were this sort of work well executed, it would have a perpetual annual sale, and of course give me credit, and them and me profit. They say, what we all know, that Goldsmith is fit only for children, and that Hooke, and Ferguson, and Crevier, are bought merely because there is no other. They are very lengthy, and I could compress the whole in ten or twelve volumes. I confess I don't like to work on appropriated ground, and am frightened at a task, the completion of which would require at least five years. At the same time, no labour can be more pleasing than a minute investigation into Roman History. Pray let me know your opinion on all this:"

* * * * * * * *

"I thank you for your thoughts respecting the History of Rome. Our ideas are very much alike, and come to the same conclusion. I was a good deal flattered by the offer, for it was ranking me with our greatest grandees in literature. That feeling, however, will not support a man through years of labour. It is too

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fierce to burn long. I am sensible, were I to undertake so great a work, I should sink under it. Much of it would be school-boy's labour. The facts are all before me, like the vast ocean, immeasurable yet visible; and all the ability I could shew would be arrangement and taste. Not only would, what you very properly call, a *magnificent* history of Rome require many years of toil, but it would be as long a time in driving the others out of the market. I cannot find that the subject grows upon, and warms my mind. The fact is, I am frightened at it. My first object in literature is intellectual improvement; my second, reputation; my third, money. 'Letters are their own reward,' should be the wished-for principle of every literary man. No hunting for benefices by the pen. I have some thoughts of writing a book, which will give me much pleasure in the doing, which will, from its nature, have a moderate sale, and bring me credit."

The object which he thus began to entertain, was to compose a volume of the lives of Dante, Petrarca, and Ariosto. His publishers, however, cautioned him that the bare biography of that great Italian triumvirate of poesy would not in itself embody sufficient attraction and excitement for the public taste. Mr. Mills therefore expanded his original idea; and a design to

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offer a general view of the intellectual state of Europe at the revival of letters and art, was the result of further reflection. To impart unity and completeness to his subject, to make his picture one harmonious whole in consistent keeping and evident connection, no means seemed so appropriate and convenient as the familiar device of the "*Voyage Imaginaire.*" The wit of Swift, the gentle satire and graceful pathos of Fenelon, and the erudition of Barthelemi and Terasson, had all been successfully displayed in fictitious travels; and in a work surveying the literature and art of one splendid epoch, the same vehicle of light and elegant knowledge might be preferred, with more peculiar propriety, to didactic or any other scholastic modes of instruction.

The difficulty of using this machinery with success was obvious. The composition of imaginary travels not only demanded deeper and more various learning than any simply historical production; but their machinery required also more discrimination and taste than that of works of absolute fiction. Though a poetical creation, the hero of the piece must harmonize with substantial flesh and blood: though a shadow of fancy, he must mingle with beings of life and reality. In works purely fictitious, the author is under little restriction from the cir-

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cumstances of time, place, or action: so long as he does not exhibit glaring inconsistencies, nor demand from credulity the prostration of reason and sense, the excursive range of his imagination is freely permitted. But, with the writer who adopts fiction as a vehicle of truth, the case must be widely different. At the slightest anachronism in the "*Voyage Imaginaire*," or the smallest transgression of the dramatic unities, knowledge would instantly be shocked, and taste disgusted.

All this Mr. Mills knew, at least as well as his critics: yet, believing the convenience of his plan to preponderate against its objections, he fearlessly grappled with its difficulties; and it has been universally admitted that he extricated himself from them with singular address and felicity. He made his traveller, Theodore Ducas, the younger son of a noble Greek family which had escaped from the sack of Constantinople. He imagined that Ducas, having been educated at the Greek college at Rome during the pontificate of Leo X., had subsequently travelled through Italy and other countries of Europe between the years 1520 and 1560; and that, on his return to the 'eternal city,' he had passed the little remainder of his life in condensing and arranging his stores of knowledge, whether the results of observation or of reading,

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on the subject of the intellectual glory of modern Europe.

In this supposition there is great dramatic propriety: for the idea was natural and classical that, when Italy was swarming with Greeks, one of that keen and inquisitive race should wish to extend the sphere of his observation, and mark the state of letters and art in other countries. Something similar to Mr. Mills's work had been projected by the Abbé Barthelemi: but he deserted the thought for the "Travels of Anacharsis;" and in the crude idea the resemblance ended. Ducas became, in comparison with Anacharsis, what an old Greek play is to a French tragedy. It offered no pompous ornate descriptions, no feeble wire-drawn declamations; but the colouring was rendered as simple, modest, and natural, as the historical matter was accurate and valuable. Elegance and refinement of taste were infused into every page, while the accessories were admirably managed. Ducas, as a man of letters, traced, with his Boccaccio in his hand, the various landscapes that extended before the windows of the Franciscan convent, which Cosmo de' Medici built on the top of Fesole, and admired both the beauties of the scenery, and their picturesque delineation in the pages of the father of Italian prose. He crossed the

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solemn and gloomy Apennines in order to reach Bologna, and the sternness of the mountain scenery prepared his mind for the serious cast of the Bolognese intellectual character. With equal propriety, he enters Ferrara, happy in the feeling that he was breathing the same air with a poet, whom Dante and Petrarca would have selected as a brother, and reflecting at the same time on the singular prophecy of Dante, that no poet would ever arise in Ferrara.

But this mere machinery of the fiction was not suffered by Mr. Mills to engross any large share, either of his own attention, or of the contents of his volumes. His far higher objects were, in the first portion of his plan, to discuss the literature of Italy in the sixteenth century, as represented in her historians, and poets, and novelists; and the fine arts of that country, as displayed in her works of sculpture and painting. If he had continued his design, he would have led his traveller to other divisions of Europe at the same epoch: but Italy, and the productions of the Italian mind, exclusively occupied the only part of the undertaking which he ever completed. In that, he exhibited a full and graceful picture of the dawn, the ascent, and the meridian splendour of Italian letters and art.

The "Travels of Ducas" have become a text-

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book for the scholar, and a manual for the lettered dilettante; and while all the enchantments of its poetry and art are elegantly woven around the subject, the severer characteristics of its philosophy and criticism are vigorously maintained. Among the strictly literary part of society, not one of Mr. Mills's works gave so large an increase to his reputation as the "Travels of Ducas." But, by the world in general, the machinery of the fiction was imperfectly understood; nor were there wanting some worthy persons who read the book, as a bishop read the fictitious travels of Swift, with sagacious doubts on the authenticity of the narrative. To the fiction also it was, perhaps justly, objected that the interest of the reader is not sufficiently excited in the personal adventures of the traveller; and though we are introduced to him with pleasure, we sympathize little with his fortunes, and dismiss him with indifference. But the author was above all things unwilling that his work should be mistaken for a novel. He carefully avoided mingling with the real object of his Greek's travels any incongruous circumstances of fictitious interest; and hence, in his care to preserve the chasteness of his composition, he detracted from the interest demanded by a numerous order of readers. Hence, too, it is not

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altogether surprising that, while the "Travels of Ducas" were received as a master-piece of elegant learning and graceful composition, the work has obtained less universal popularity than the "History of the Crusades."

The "Travels of Ducas" were written by Mr. Mills, with his usual energy, and a more than usual zest for his occupation. He liked his subject; and he certainly found in it an excitation of happiness which is rarely experienced from intellectual labour. On the death of his mother, to whom he was tenderly attached, he had now removed to Kensington-square; and after the first shock of his affliction had subsided, he attained, in the quietude of his virtuous feelings, and the charms of his intellectual pursuits — in the unrestrained and affectionate intercourse of friendship, and the possession of an easy independence—the highest degree of rational and tranquil enjoyment which this life can afford. Of the blessings of his situation, he was himself perfectly conscious; and his letters used to overflow with cheerfulness and *badinage*. "I am completely happy," was his own acknowledgment, in one of them, after writing in a continued strain of playful merriment, "I am completely happy. To make the bumper run over, I must have a huge cat, and call his name Hodge, and buy

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oysters for him in honour of old Johnson." The earnest and animated interest with which he was engaged on the travels of his Greek, is also strikingly shewn in some fragments of his letters; and these passages are worth attention on other accounts, both as relating to the composition of his book, and as exemplifying the sincere and ingenuous spirit, in which he eagerly courted and thankfully accepted the unreserved criticisms of friendship.

"I am exceedingly happy that your report of my travels is so favourable. I send you the remainder, which when read, be so good as to return by honest John. Pray put all thoughts on paper, whether in hints or at length, for as the preacher saith, all things in this life are uncertain, and some circumstances, now unforeseen, may prevent me from seeing you a while. With respect to the Michelangiolo, I did the life from Candivi and Vasari, and grouped the events in order to avoid the possibility of suspicion that I had robbed Duppa. The gods have not made me poetical, so I can't translate the sonnets. Are you sure that I should put the Carey pieces at the foot of the page? Think of this and tell me."

* * * * * * * *

"The Carey shall be at the bottom. I confess I am conceited about my Petrarca. I don't like

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to follow the charlatan, step by step, as De Sade has done—it is not interesting, I assure you. I shall then be only called an abridger of Mrs. Dobson, who is the abridger of De Sade. My God! what a reflection; the abstract of Mrs. Dobson!—what a name! I don't wish to address the general reader only, but fly at a higher quarry. What you say about the language of the life, is, I dare say, true—pray put all your comments, and as freely as I do on your works. I expect great benefit from your remarks, I most seriously assure you—or, I would say, *solemnly*—but that **** would call me a wicked wretch. I will thank you to return me by Cowdry, what you have read of my Greek, as I can revise that part; the rest you'll return, read or unread, as you like; but I confess I'd prefer the first."

* * * * * * * *

"For your revision of Ducas, I am exceedingly grateful; and your conclusion, that its interest very far exceeds your hopes, makes me very sanguine about its success. Pray send him to me, for I long to see your remarks. If I should think it necessary, I will certainly visit you. But I shall be very glad, on all accounts, to exchange minds with you. Your trouble, in going over the ground twice, is more than I expected."

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The activity of Mr. Mills's mind was never satisfied except in the excitement of intellectual occupation; and the "Travels of Ducas" were no sooner published, than he began once more to feel the want of some subject of literary engagement. His thoughts now naturally reverted to the proposal which his publishers had formerly submitted to him, of writing a general history of Rome; and after some hesitation, he resolved on undertaking such a work, to extend, "*ab urbe conditâ* to the termination of the empire." He entered on this new labour with that energy of purpose, tempered with a modest estimate of his powers, which belonged to his character. "I shall be excited to my best exertions," was an observation in one of his letters, at this period, "for the task is above my mark." In the outset, however, he derived little pleasure from his design; for the fabulous uncertainty in which the early annals of Rome are impenetrably shrouded, offered little attraction to his philosophical spirit of inquiry. The perplexity which he experienced in his subject, was amusingly shewn in his tone of complaint. "The early part of the Roman history," he wrote, "is so unsatisfactory that I am really quite miserable. I sometimes think I will take a run on the continent —I sometimes think (don't betray me, my

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dearest fellow), that I will take a wife. I wish you or S—— were here between dinner and tea, for that is a time in which I feel deplorably lonely. You see the philosophers and divines, with all their craft, can give us no remedy against the discontentedness of human nature. And I am sure I ought to be happy."

A year's application to his subject carried him, however, through its introductory difficulties: he had reached the authentic ages of the Roman annals, and had just entered upon the delineation of one of the most interesting periods in all history—the fierce struggle of factions which overthrew the mighty republic—when he was, perhaps too easily, induced to relinquish the greatest of his literary enterprises. He was given to understand that another gentleman had been long engaged in a similar design, and had made much more progress in it than himself; and expressing his "dislike of any mere work of competition," he at once resolved to abandon, or at least to suspend, his own project. Yet he certainly did not come to this decision without some regret; for, to use his own expression, he "was already warming into his subject," and had completed the first draught of his history as far as the dictatorship of Sylla. The manuscript shared the fate of his other papers, being destroyed unread, after his decease, in com-

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pliance with his injunctions. It had never been shewn to any of his friends; and would probably have been found in a state not sufficiently advanced for publication.

On the abandonment of his unfinished history of Rome, Mr. Mills's usual anxiety for employment was evinced more strongly than ever. Immediately afterwards, he observed in one of his letters, "I am quite lonely for want of a book to write. There is no joy in idleness, except it be stolen from work. But Shakspeare has illustrated this far better than I can." At this juncture, the subject of his "History of the Crusades" prompted the idea of a "History of Chivalry," as a "companion-work" to that most successful of his writings; and from the instant that the project suggested itself, he embraced it with evident delight. It was his own declaration that he liked the design better than any thing on which he had ever been engaged: it seemed constantly to engross his thoughts; and his letters at this epoch were all full of it. Ever written, as his letters were, on the unpremeditated excitement of the moment, and in the careless confidence of friendship, they were farthest from being intended for any other eyes than those of the individual to whom they were addressed; and that some of them were preserved at the time, was the conse-

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quence only of a common and natural reluctance to destroy the records of a highly valued affection. The unreserved spirit in which they were composed, however, is the very circumstance which renders them most faithfully characteristic of the mind of the writer. There can be no breach of trust to his memory in exhibiting his amiable character in the negligence of an undress; and a few passages from these letters, besides marking the general hue of his feelings and tastes, may best shew the ardour which he threw into his new pursuit, as well as the sportive gaiety with which he was inspired by a favourite occupation:

"Well, Sievier* and I have been to Woburn, and quite enchanted we were with the Graces. Day's cast is upon the whole very correct. His principal failure was in the want of the *dolce riso* to the mouth of the centre figure. Rogers has put half a dozen lines on the entablature of the temple. Here they are for you:

* His friend, Mr. Sievier, whose genius and fast rising eminence in his art stand in no need of complimentary notice, but whose kindness in superintending the execution of the portrait prefixed to this little memoir, must not pass unacknowledged. The drawing has been made after a bust of Charles Mills by Mr. Sievier, to whose chisel their mutual friends were indebted, during the life of the historian, for an admirable likeness of him.

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" Approach with reverence: there are those within
Whose dwelling-place is Heav'n: Daughters of Jove!
From them flow all the decencies of life;
Without them, nothing pleases: Virtue's self
Admir'd, not lov'd; and those on whom they smile,
Great tho' they be, and beautiful, and wise,
Shine forth with double lustre."*

" Nothing else particular has happened since you left me, except that my subject quite possesses me. I am more fond of it than any thing I have done for ages. I have thrown all nonsense aside (cries of *hear, hear*, from all parts of the house), and I often fancy I shall make a splendid book. Hopes of two volumes sometimes glitter in my mind.

" I do not know when Chivalry will let me come and see you, but come I will. I do not recollect that I have any thing more to say, so,

" ' *Vale, iterum iterumque vale, amicorum dulcissime, et perge amare tuum.*'

" C. M.

" Lord, what a fine thing is larning!"

* The object of the journey to Woburn recorded in this letter, was to study Canova's celebrated group of the Graces, of which Mr. Sievier had promised his friend a marble copy in little; and the purity of Mr. Mills's taste was accordingly afterwards gratified with the possession of a work, which not only faithfully repeated the beauteous forms, but reflected the chaste and delicate expression of the original master-piece.

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* * * * *

"I have finished two chapters since I saw you. The one regards the equipment of the knight: the other, the religious and military orders. I think I wrote to you about the first; and as for the second, it appears to me amusing; but I fear you will be surprised at its brevity. I have treated the subject altogether in a new way, more to the advantage of my literary character than to the length of my MS. The Templar bit reads famously, and I am not ashamed of my Blue Stocking Club, at the conclusion. To-morrow I shall begin my Lady chapter; but I do not know how to treat them. I should have no difficulty if I had a pretty woman by my side, occasionally dashing from her eye a straggling ringlet; but as you will not let me have such an inspirer of my chivalry, the chapter must be a bad one, and be hanged to you.

"I can no more, for the trumpet is summoning me. Ever thine,

"C. M."

Some time after, he wrote:—

"I have but this moment (two o'clock) finished the sketch of the Lady and the Lady-love chapter. I wonder how you will like it. I have taken great pains to vindicate them as

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becomes a true knight. The chapter is long and amusing, but perhaps rather too sober; for I am 'horribly afeard' of getting laughed at for writing poetical prose."

* * * * *

"I have not lately reported the progress of the Chivalry. I have done the two Scotch bits, one regarding Douglas and Percy, the other, James IV. The battle of Otterbourne was a very fine thing—a moonlight concern:—so I say, 'The hostile banners waved in the night breeze, and the bright moon, which was more wont to look upon the loves than the wars of chivalry, lighted up the Scottish camp.' Is'n't that marvellous fine writing, now? I have been revising too, or rather re-writing my French Chivalry chapter. I am now looking through Sidney's Arcadia,—a precious job in foggy weather.

"I am right glad you are coming. Farewell, then, till we meet here in the Hall of Beauties; for, now that I have got the Graces home, such may the room be truly called. Ever, ever thine,

"C. M."

Sometimes his whole letters were devoted to his subject, alternately in serious interest and in playful *badinage*.

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"NOBLE KNIGHT,

"I cannot give you a better proof of my affection for you, than what I am doing at the present moment. For in order to write to you, I have thrown on the ground some unfinished pages of improvement of my Lady-love chapter, which I am touching up again, intending as I do to make it as bright—as bright—as what?—Why, as woman's eye, to be sure.

"Since you left me I have done a good deal. Let me see what. Why, I have brought English chivalry down to its close in the reign of Charles II. I have put in twenty-five pages about Scottish chivalry, and have sketched anew my French chivalry chapter, all which in about eight days will be copied out. I do not think you had the misery to read that chapter in its pristine state. My account of Du Guesclin will now be as good as the Chandos story: but the chapter will not be a very prime one, for there is nothing in it about the moon or the ladies.

"Your Constantia is right welcome; the name is perfectly chivalric. Remember you an exquisite passage in the Lady-love chapter about constancy? Well, well, in a little while all this foolery will be over. How I shall laugh at my former folly, when I get firmly fixed in my mathematical studies.

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"Adieu, noble knight; ever while you live let your motto be

"*Loyauté aux Dames.*"

"C. M.

"What do the women in your part of the world wear now? We wear sky blues and light greens. Oh, I beg your pardon for talking of such trifles, my dear old critic. The exhibition opened yesterday. I was there, be sure, at twelve. They have not put Sievier's Bacchante in a good place:—but there are few better things there."

The following is the last of his letters which remains to be transcribed.

"I finished this morning my sketch of the last, the dreadful chapter. I wish to goodness you had never told me I should find any difficulty in it, for I have written in fear and trembling. A recapitulation I have *not* made: what I have made I hardly know. The merits of the chivalric institutions are my principal object. Sometimes I have argued closely, and I think the whole is written *con spirito*. I have drawn it entirely from my own brain, for I was afraid to look at the conclusion of Scott's paper, or what Hallam says. When it is copied I shall be most cruelly anxious to shew it to you.

"I am afraid I can't materially improve the

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Spanish concern, as you desire—that provokes me much, for people I know will expect a good deal there. However, the MS. looks twenty per cent better than when you saw it. I shall have two glorious vignette title pages, I hope.

* * * * * *

"What you say about my health is very proper; and as I am such a fellow for lecturing others, it is but fair that I should now and then get a jobation myself. But really the winter has been so mild that I have lived as if it had been a *perpetuum ver*, as H—— would call it."

A few days afterwards, in reporting the completion of his work, he made a lively acknowledgment of the pleasure which its composition had afforded him. "I sketched my preface this morning. I am so glad that all the book is over—but yet sorry too that my 'occupation is gone,' *for it has been a delightful labour.*"

The "History of Chivalry" was thus finished in May 1825, and published in the following September. Its reception by the world was such as to equal the most sanguine expectations of the author: a large impression was immediately sold; and a second edition was demanded before the close of the year. Until the appearance of this work, inquiries into the history and institutions of chivalry had been abandoned to dull antiquarians; and repre-

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sentations of chivalric manners had been employed only for the embellishment of romantic fiction: it was reserved for Mr. Mills to clothe the historical truth of the subject in the vivid colouring of a pictorial imagination. No man was ever more punctilious in the rigid investigation and statement of facts: but the accurate learning and minute research which he threw into his undertaking were relieved, without being injured, by all the graces of elegant composition; and while he seemed to have imbued his mind in the very language and spirit of chivalry, he preserved his judgment free from the romantic allurements of his topic, and forgot neither the scrupulous veracity nor the philosophical reflection, which constituted the severer duties of his office. But his "History of Chivalry," like his "History of the Crusades," has already taken a station in English literature, from which it is not probable that any future work on the same subject will displace it; and its reputation has nothing to gain or to lose by the suspicious eulogium of friendship.

The publication of the "History of Chivalry" was attended by a little circumstance, which led to a rather interesting correspondence between Mr. Mills and Sir Walter Scott. As the "Author of Waverley" had not

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then thrown aside his mysterious mantle, public curiosity was still provoked by the enigma of his identity; and considerable attention was attracted at the time to his communication with Mr. Mills. While the "History of Chivalry" was passing through the press, the "Tales of the Crusaders" were published; and in the second of them (the Talisman) appeared a note,* which seemed to impeach the accuracy of a passage in the "History of the Crusades." In the text of the novel was contained a series of supposed propositions from Saladin, for peace between his nation and the English, which concluded: "Saladin will put a sacred seal on this happy union betwixt the bravest and noblest of Frangistan and Asia, by raising to the rank of his royal spouse a Christian damsel allied in blood to king Richard, and known by the name of the Lady Edith of Plantagenet." Upon this passage of his text it was, that the author proceeded to remark in a note: "This may appear so extraordinary and improbable a proposition, that it is necessary to say such a one was actually made. The historians, however, substitute the widowed queen of Naples, sister of Richard, for the bride, and Saladin's brother for the bridegroom.

* Tales of the Crusaders, vol. iv. p. 14.

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They appear to be ignorant of the existence of Edith of Plantagenet.—See MILL's (MILLS') 'History of the Crusades,' vol. ii. p. 61."

It was the opinion of Mr. Mills, and of his friends, that he ought not to suffer a passage to pass unnoticed, which thus expressly charged him with historical ignorance; and he therefore appended to the preface of the "History of Chivalry" a vindication of the fidelity of his original statement in the "History of the Crusades." After learnedly and satisfactorily proving his accuracy, by citations from Bohadin, Abulfeda, and Matthew Paris, Mr. Mills proceeded: "Thus, therefore, 'the historians are correct in their statement, that the matrimonial proposition was made by the English to Saladin, and that the parties were to be the brother of Saladin and the widowed queen of Sicily. The novelist has not supported his assertion by a single historical testimony; and we may defy him to produce a tittle of evidence on his side.

"In the composition of his tales, the 'Author of Waverley' has seldom shown much respect for historical keeping. But greater accuracy than his, no person had a right to expect in the text of a mere novel; and as long as he gave his readers no excuse for confounding fiction with truth, the play of his brilliant and

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excursive imagination was harmless. Thus, in the Talisman, the poetical antiquarian only smiles when he finds the romance of the 'Squire of Low Degree,' quoted as familiar to the English long before it was written; and when, in 'The Betrothed,' Gloucester is raised into a bishopric three centuries and a half before the authentic era, we equally admit the author's licence of anachronism. On these two occasions, as in innumerable other instances, in which the novelist, whether intentionally or unwittingly, has strayed from the path of historical accuracy, he has never given formal warranty for the truth of his statements; and he is entitled to laugh at the simple credulity which could mistake his tales for veracious chronicles: but his assertion respecting the marriage of Saladin with his 'Edith of Plantagenet' is a very different case. For here he throws aside the fanciful garb of a novelist, and quits the privilege of his text, that he may gravely and critically vouch in a note for the errors of our historians, and his own superior knowledge. If this can possibly be done merely to heighten the illusion of his romance, it is carrying the jest a little too far; for the preservation of historical truth is really too important a principle to be idly violated. But, if he seriously designed to unite the province of

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the historian with that of the novelist, he has chosen a very unlucky expedient for his own reputation; and thus, in either case, he has rather wantonly led his readers into error, and brought against others a charge of ignorance, which must recoil more deservedly on himself."

After an interval of about two months from the publication of the "History of Chivalry," this notice produced the following communication from the "Author of Waverley," which was conveyed to Mr. Mills by Mr. Constable of Edinburgh:

"The Author of Waverley is concerned to find, that Mr. Mills has misconceived entirely the purpose of a passage in the 'Talisman.' It was neither the intention of the author to charge Mr. Mills (for whose talents he has the greatest respect) with ignorance, nor to impose a fictitious genealogy upon the public as a real one—a deceit which would in no respect have added to the effect of his narrative. But mere authors of romance are in the habit of referring to imaginary authorities, accessible to themselves alone—as Cervantes quotes Cid Hamet Benengeli. And when such an author, in a professed work of fiction, refers to historical documents for any part of his narrative, and requires the rest to be taken upon his own au-

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thority, he means to intimate a distinction between that which is true and that which is imaginary. It was of consequence to the author to show, that the extraordinary fact of a proposed marriage, between Saladin and one of Richard's relations, was grounded in history, although history gave no countenance to the colouring of the tale. The Author of Waverley begs leave to assure Mr. Mills, that if he had seriously meant to question any of his statements, he would have done so in respectful terms, and supported his opinion by historical authorities."

In reply to this communication, Mr. Mills "hastened to acknowledge his sense of the polite and handsome terms in which the Author of Waverley had couched his explanatory remarks; and to assure that gifted individual, that, after the gratifying manner in which all intention had thus been disclaimed of charging him with historical inaccuracy, he could remember the circumstance only for the urbanity and candour with which it had been concluded." And he added, that "he should best evince his feeling in the matter, by giving publicity to the Author of Waverley's explanation, in the preface to the second edition of the History of Chivalry:" which he accordingly did, omitting his former observations, and merely refer-

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ring to the fact, that he had proved the accuracy of his text by historical documents.

By the brilliant success of the "History of Chivalry," every anticipation of increased celebrity, which Mr. Mills could ardently have indulged in the progress of a favourite undertaking, was fully realized; and he might seem, since the rapid attainment of his enthusiastic purposes of literary distinction, to be now but entering on the brightest and most auspicious epoch of his life. Alas, for the bitter mockery of hope! The event came only to swell the melancholy catalogue of earthly disappointment. A fit of illness, slight and transient as indeed it appeared, which attacked Mr. Mills in the spring of 1825, at the very moment when he was putting the last touches to his book, should have broken with an ominous foreboding upon the blind security of his too sanguine friends. But the circumstance provoked no suspicion of danger: all visible signs of indisposition were subdued for a time; and Mr. Mills wore his usual appearance of health, and his usual gaiety of spirit, until the end of August, when—but within a week before the publication of his work—he was seized with a low fever, the immediate precursor of that cruel disease, which was to bow him, with lingering suffering, to his untimely grave.

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His disorder was probably in some measure constitutional, and had certainly displayed itself so far back as upon that occasion, in the year 1814, when he was compelled to quit England, and to seek relief in the milder climate of the continent. But the last fatal relapse or return of the disease was hastened and aggravated, if not altogether produced, by the intense and almost incredible excitement under which his latest work was written. The characteristic ardour of spirit which he had all his life thrown into his literary pursuits, was never before too much for him, but had been allayable at will and compatible with other enjoyments. Latterly, during the composition of his "History of Chivalry," it overmastered him, and, acting upon a febrile and irritable temperament, became an exhausting and consuming fire. His mind never wandered from its occupation; nor could any one, not acquainted with his circumstances, have possibly believed that he had nothing at stake but literary fame, and that for this alone he laboured. Whilst under the strong impulse of his dearly-cherished employment, he bore up against the secret fever that was wasting his vital energies; but the moment that the stimulus was relaxed on the completion of his work, he sank under the long and too-highly wrought excitation.

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There remains only the sad consummation of our narrative: we may spare ourselves its details.* A painful and hopeless struggle

* The particulars of Mr. Mills's disorder will more appropriately be given in the words of the following extract from a statement of his case, which his friend and medical adviser, Dr. Anthony T. Thomson, has kindly afforded, and from which the account already given in these pages of the nature of Mr. Mills's first illness in 1814, has principally been copied :—

" After his recovery from this first violent attack, Mr. Mills continued for several years in tolerable health, suffering scarcely more from disease than is usually the lot of literary men. For some time he persevered in the careful regimen and early hours, which had been recommended to him as absolutely requisite for preventing a renewal of his complaints; but, as his health became re-established, the natural ardour of his mind, his consciousness of possessing qualifications peculiarly fitted for society, and dispositions certain of commanding the esteem of others, led him into company more frequently, perhaps, than was consistent with the preservation of his bodily strength. The flow of spirits which he now enjoyed was fostered and greatly increased, by the feelings with which he entered upon the execution of his last work. The details of that admirable production were peculiarly interesting to him; and he pursued its composition with an enthusiasm which seemed to inspire new life and vigour into his frame; but which certainly hastened on the last fatal attack of his complaint.

" This excitement had roused the nervous system, and given to the countenance of Mr. Mills an air of health, and to his bodily frame an apparent robustness, which were hailed with delight by those friends to whom his amiable qualities and high attainments had endeared him, but were seen with distrust and anxiety by myself and others, who were acquainted with his

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against the progress of his disorder was protracted for nearly fourteen months, during which, to the last, Mr. Mills retained the full vigour of his mind, and bore his sufferings with

constitution. These fallacious appearances were soon succeeded by a species of low fever, and a return of the hæmoptysis; and Mr. Mills placed himself, in August, 1825, under the medical care of his friend Mr. Jago, to whose assistance in the management of the case, my advice was also requested.

"The disease under which Mr. Mills now suffered, although in some respects the same as the former, yet was marked by symptoms which could not be viewed without great uneasiness, and which too evidently demonstrated that no favourable prognostic could be given as to the issue of the case: symptoms that afforded a strong presumption of the existence of some organic affection of the lungs, and displayed decisive indications of a diseased state of the liver. The course of medicine which was recommended, together with rest and farinaceous diet, succeeded in removing any apprehensions of immediate danger, and in so far restoring him, that he was able to walk out, and to remove (in April, 1826) to Brighton, where it was expected that the use of the tepid sea-water baths, and the change of air, would recruit his exhausted frame. This anticipation was unfortunately not realized: a continuation of east winds prevented Mr. Mills from enjoying those advantages which the situation affords for exercise; and, chagrined and disappointed, he returned to London in a worse state of health than when he left it.

"Mr. Jago and myself were again requested to attend Mr. Mills: but all treatment was ineffectual; the disease increased; and his strength daily declined. Having now resolved to leave London entirely, and to reside at Southampton, he removed thither in

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manly and characteristic fortitude. Early in the summer of 1826, he removed to Southampton, accompanied by his sister, whose affectionate devotion to him throughout his illness had known no intermission, and whose gentle offices solaced the last hours of his existence. These, too, were alleviated by the presence and the medical skill of his friend Jago, who still watched over his death-bed with an anxious solicitude, that had clung to the latest shadow of hope, and now soothed the parting agonies of dissolution. Upon this faithful friend was turned the last gleam of that kindly spirit, which had shed its warmth, and gaiety, and benevolence, on all within its influence. After some remedy had allayed a passing convulsion of violent pain, the sufferer cheerfully raised his countenance towards his friend, and, "Now you see I can smile again," was the affectionate acknowledgment of relief. These were the last words he ever uttered! and he soon after

the month of June, 1826. I never saw Mr. Mills again; and am, therefore, ignorant of the progress of the disease, which deprived me of a highly-gifted and most valued friend.

"ANTHONY T. THOMSON."

"3, Hinde Street, Manchester Square,
17th February, 1827."

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tranquilly expired—October 9th, 1826—without a struggle.

Thus untimely died—in the maturity and meridian vigour of his intellect, and at the early age of thirty-eight years—one whose writings had already placed him among the most distinguished names in our historical literature, and whose exertions, had his life been prolonged, would as assuredly have elevated him to the very highest rank of intellectual greatness: so fine and accomplished was his genius, so indefatigable his industry, and so ardent his passion for fame. To his fervour in the cause of literature, every page of this memoir has borne testimony; and the works which he has left to the world more than equally evince the extent of his success in its pursuit. And here the record of a literary character might perhaps without impropriety be closed. But laudable curiosity may still be gratified by a slight sketch of the more private habits and qualities of an individual, not more remarkable for eminent natural talents, than for the energy which directed their honourable employment, the rectitude of principle, and the warmth and generosity of heart, which adorned their possession.

It will have been remarked, that, very early in life, Mr. Mills subjected himself to a course

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of laborious, and indeed, almost incessant reading; and it was during the period which preceded the publication of his first work, that the great bulk of his knowledge was acquired. Comparatively speaking, no very large portion of his time was subsequently devoted to what is usually denominated study. He no longer read for many hours daily, except under the pressure of emergency; but gathered knowledge more at leisure, or at the time when he immediately required it, and digested and arranged his acquisitions in the intervals of other occupations. The wonderful grasp of his intellect embraced at once, and to the fullest extent, every part of the subject which he desired to comprehend; and the extraordinary tenacity, accuracy, and analytical character of his memory enabled him, with comparatively little labour, and without abstracting himself from the demands of society, to bring all his resources into action at will, and to apply them to the object which he had immediately in view.

His daily habits seldom placed him formally among his books and papers before the hour of ten in the morning; and it was almost an invariable rule with him to leave home at two, for purposes of exercise, till five. He frequently dined out, or enjoyed the society of a friend at home;

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but otherwise, when employed on his books in the evening, he made a point of unbending his mind completely, for at least an hour before he went to rest, over a volume of poetry, a novel, or some periodical publication; painful experience having taught him how vain was the attempt to seek repose with a mind upon the stretch, and crowded with facts and opinions, which still remained to be reconciled, corrected, and arranged.

So eager was his desire for the acquisition and improvement of his knowledge, that it is almost impossible to say he ever lost sight of those purposes. If sleep deserted his pillow, he exercised his imagination and his fancy. A volume of poetry was invariably open on his dressing-table, and scarcely a morning, for years, elapsed in which many lines were not committed to memory in the intervals of dressing. With the desire of correcting a hesitation in his utterance, as well as for a practice of memory, it was his custom at these times to learn and recite aloud different portions of favourite authors; and it is incredible how vast were the number and variety of the finest passages in our language with which this mechanical exercise had stored his mind. At his meals, when alone, he always read; and those who may be apt to think slightly of the advan-

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tages of such a custom will perhaps be surprised to hear that he thus perused the whole of Bayle's huge dictionary, and that he went through Todd's edition of Johnson's Dictionary in the same way, for the sake of the many admirable passages which are there quoted from our old and sterling English authors. It would exceed the belief of any one, who had not had repeated opportunities of observing, how great was the quantity of lighter reading which he got through, in intervals usually unproductive of literary results; yet it is not too much to assert, that he was better read in the poetry, drama, novels, and romances of our language, both ancient and of the day, than infinitely the larger portion of those who in literature devote themselves exclusively to the perusal of works of imagination. But these were his playthings, the toys with which he relaxed his mind, and soothed it into composure, after the agitation and excitement which, unhappily, composition and intense thought invariably occasioned him.

Bold in his conceptions, he nevertheless did not rashly embark in any literary design, but carefully, and perhaps, even jealously, investigated the relative advantages and disadvantages of the project. But having once determined on an undertaking, neither its extent, or the impediments to be encountered in its

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execution, ever deterred him for an instant: industry he knew would overcome the magnitude of any labour; and for the mastery of difficulties, he ever proudly felt that he might confide in the strength of his own internal resources. Except in the case of the "History of Rome," which has been already alluded to and explained, he never quitted any thing that he had once begun. From the moment of its commencement until its completion, the work before him was ever the primary object of his thoughts; and so careful was he that nothing should escape him which might tend to its perfection, that he perpetually courted conversation with his friends on the subject on which he was engaged. He ever held himself prepared for the reception of remarks and opinions that might be useful in the suggestion of new ideas, or in the correction of his own views and deductions.

They who knew not Mr. Mills in the character of a close and intimate friend, could form but a very inadequate idea of the resources or the powers of his mind. Of science he was indeed practically ignorant; but in almost every department of literature, his knowledge was universal. He had not, of course, done what no man has ever yet accomplished—that is, read every thing; but the

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number of books that he had actually perused, was astonishing; and of those through which he had not literally passed, he in general knew not only the names, but the reputed contents and characters. If he had not every point of literary knowledge in possession, there were few on which he did not know where to lay his hand whenever he desired it; if his mind did not embrace every subject of literature in detail, it might justly be compared to an index, incomplete perhaps in parts, but indisputably copious and accurate. Owing to the exquisite retention and promptness of his memory, what he knew was always at his command. He never experienced a difficulty in recalling a subject to his recollection, but was at all times prepared to enter deeply into the consideration of topics as they accidentally presented themselves for discussion.

It was on these occasions, that he loved to enter at large into the history of important and interesting subjects, and to trace them through their several stages. His enthusiasm then inspired him with amazing animation: the accuracy of his detail was such as his learning could alone supply; and in the variety and beauty of his illustrations, taste and judgment were equally conspicuous. He was all his life readily excited by conversation; but among his

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intimates, nothing was more foreign from his nature than the effort of display: his ideas then knew neither premeditation nor concealment. But in general society he was naturally more guarded: he shone in conversation, and he knew it. His manners were simple, and most thoroughly gentlemanlike: though his early habits of studious seclusion had imparted to his address a degree of stiffness or reserve, which denied to him all the finished elegance of the man of the world. But this coldness readily disappeared before the genial influence of the courtesies of society; and from the moment in which he warmed in the interchange of ideas, he became the most animated and delightful of intellectual companions.

In the more serious communication of his knowledge, he was full of liberality; and whoever required information had only to ask of him to have his wants abundantly supplied. Nor did his kindness end here: for he was ever ready with more active services towards those who were glad to avail themselves of his advice and assistance; and the aid both of his judgment and his pen was freely rendered to labourers in literature, less experienced and less able than himself. As a critic, it has been already observed that he was prone to be severe. Not that he was sparing either of his

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admiration or praise: but he could not shut his eyes to demerits which had a palpable existence; and rather than rank himself with those who saw no faults, and swelled the cry of indiscriminating eulogy, he sometimes dwelt on faults too long, and rated their importance too gravely. And here it may not be improper to allude to the temper with which he entertained criticisms on his own works. On this point he was indisputably sensitive; and, consequently, anxious and watchful; but no instance can be recalled to mind in which it provoked him to captiousness or petulance, whilst many might be quoted of his ready and cheerful acquiescence in the justice of objections preferred against him. Of much, in fact, it was impossible that he could complain; for all his works were received with approbation and applause; and little was ever written to question his general merit, though blemishes were occasionally pointed out, and differences of opinion expressed. Once, indeed, near the close of his life, the shaft of criticism was hurled at him with malignity: but so obvious and grovelling were the motives that originated the attack, that it excited no other feeling in the intended victim than contempt for the meanness and imbecility of the assault.

In his private character, Mr. Mills was emi-

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nently successful in securing to himself the sincere and lasting attachment of his relatives and friends; and for this he was not indebted so much to the high accomplishments of his mind, as to the good and amiable qualities of his heart and disposition. These are themes which might be dwelt on in lengthened and melancholy satisfaction; but they are themes also on which it is necessary to subject inclination to restraint, lest the just tribute of affection should be branded with the charge of exaggerated eulogy. Yet on no consideration must a testimony, justly due, be withheld from the merit of departed worth. A being of more kindly affections never existed than Charles Mills: the warmth of his heart was one of the leading springs of his character; and from that source flowed all that was valuable in friendship, all that was kind and generous in man.

In the higher relations of our existence, Mr. Mills's life was strictly, though unostentatiously regulated by the strong dictates of a pious and virtuous mind. In his worldly intercourse, his principles were pure, simple, and well defined. He here stood on "the broad-stone of honour;" and his whole conduct was an example of unimpeachable integrity and incorruptible love of justice. Such was his firmness of purpose, that it

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would indisputably have been found equal to the most trying emergencies that could have occurred to demand its exercise. From these features of his character proceeded an occasional rigidity and austerity of manner, which a casual observer might be apt to misconstrue, not knowing the kindness, sensibility, and affectionate temper which it covered. Never, in the cause of humanity, were his zealous endeavours suffered to sleep; and small indeed can be the number of those who, in similar circumstances of life, have conferred half the benefits on their fellow-creatures which resulted from his active and steady, though secret and silent, course of benevolence.

In friendship, his esteem and confidence were slowly won: but where once his affections were placed, there were no limits set to their exercise—no cheerful sacrifice of himself, his pleasures, his labours, or his possessions, too great for his noble and generous spirit. In the ardour and constancy of his few chosen intimacies, every worldly consideration of his proper advantage was forgotten; and he threw himself into the interests and feelings of others with a devotion of purpose, an abandonment of self, which seemed to lose the very consciousness of a separate being. This is not the vain

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language of panegyric: it is truth, told with an aching heart—truth, wrung from the memory of a friendship, of which every hour of existence brings something to recall the irreparable loss.

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THE

HISTORY

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Political History of Jerusalem.

PAGANISM became the religion of Jerusalem, after the accomplishment of prophecy in the destruction of the second temple, and the insulting and intolerant Romans dedicated to Venus and Jove, the spots which had been

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CHAP. I. hallowed by the passion of the Saviour. In the fourth century, however, the banner of the cross triumphed over polytheism. Pious Christian emperors raised churches on the ruins of heathen temples, and Jerusalem continued a seat of the true faith, till the "Star of Islamism" arose, and the Arabians changed the moral and political aspect of the world. For three ages the holy city was subject in reciprocal succession to the caliphs of Bagdad, and to those of Cairo. But the commanders of the faithful in Egypt finally prevailed, and in the year 969 their dominion over Palestine was established. A century, however, had not elapsed before a storm from the north burst upon the fairest and largest portion of Muhammedan countries, and the calamity of foreign invasion was added to the miseries of political feuds. From the bleak and ungenial plains of Khozzer, at the north-east of the Caspian sea, a mass of fierce and unpolished Turkmans, called in history the Seljuk Turks, rolled to the milder regions of the south. Between the years 1038 and 1092, all Persia, Arabia, and most of Syria, owned for their lords, Togrol, Seljuk, Alp Arslan, and Malek Shah. In the divisions between the lords of the Moslem world, these Tartarian princes chose the side of the caliph of Bagdad; they rescued him

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from the rebellion of his Turkish guards, and from the hostility of his Egyptian rival. They then carried on offensive war with the enemies of their ally, and a general of Malek Shah, about the year 1076, tore Jerusalem from their grasp. The new conquest was intrusted to Ortok, emir of a considerable body of Turks from the plains of Kipjack, and who soon converted his government into an independent principality. The city was alternately under the authority of the Seljuks and the Ortokites, for eighteen years; but in the vicissitudes of fortune, the Egyptians once more became lords of the ascendant, and recovered their power in Palestine.* CHAP. I. A.D. 1094.

The causes and practice of pilgrimages.

Jerusalem, whether in a state of glory or of abasement, was always† held dear and sacred by the Christians. In the early ages of the church, a religious curiosity prompted people to visit those places, which the scriptures have sanctified,‡ and as perceptible objects awaken

* De Guignes, livres 11 and 12.

† Jerome, in his seventeenth epistle, says that people began to pilgrimise to Jerusalem, directly after the ascension of Christ.

‡ Quis enim non rapitur in admirationem et stuporem, qui montem Oliviferum, mare Tiberiadis, Jordanem, Hierosolyman, et alia loca quæ Christum frequentasse notum est, conspicit, et menti suæ præsentem sistit generis humani sos-

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CHAP. I. associated thoughts and feelings,* the travellers found their sympathies stronger and their devotions more fervent, in beholding the scenes of the ministry of their divine master, than in simply reading the narrative of his life. The impious and vain attempt of the emperor Julian, to re-edify the walls of the holy city, should have taught the world that heaven had manifested its providence in order to complete its promises for the perfect abrogation of Judaism; but superstition readily fancied

pitatorem, illic ea operantem aut passum quæ originem dedere sacris Christianorum ejus nomen confitentium. Reland, Palæstina ex monumentis veteribus illustrata, vol. 1. lib. 1. c. 4. page 21. "Not that the Deity can be adored in Jerusalem only; for who does not know that he is omnipresent; but the faithful may gratify their eyes by contemplating the scenes of the passion, and not enjoy them by faith alone. If we are devoted to any object, every circumstance, every thing relating to it interests us." Theodoreti Hist. Rel. p. 820.

* "Movemur nescio quo pacto locis ipsis, in quibus eorum, quos diligimus aut admiramur, adsunt vestigia. Me quidem ipsæ illæ nostræ Athenæ non tam operibus magnificis, exquisitisque antiquorum artibus delectant, quam recordatione summorum virorum, ubi quisque habitare, ubi sedere, ubi disputare solitus sit: studioseque eorum etiam sepulchra contemplor." Cicero de Legibus, l. 2. c. 2. If the Roman, in contemplating the ruins of Greece, (Epist. ad Fam. 4. 5.,) found that a noble sympathy for the woes of nations banished all personal sorrows, the view of Calvary could not excite feebler emotions in the breast of a Christian.

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that there was some peculiar sanctity in the very ground of Jerusalem, and consequently the habit of visiting Palestine became strengthened.* Anxious restless guilt hoped that pardon might be procured by him who underwent the pains of prilgrimage, and who made the sacrifice of prayer in a land which, above all other countries, seemed to have been favoured by the Deity. As expiation was now the purpose of the religious traveller, it was the duty of directors of consciences, to determine on what occasions the penance was necessary. The bible acquainted the pious with the manners of the East. A scrip and a staff were, in conformity with Asiatic customs, considered the fit accompaniments of every traveller: they were the only support of the poor, and were always carried by the rich. The

* Even the dust of Palestine was adored: it was carefully conveyed to Europe, and the fortunate possessor, whether by original acquisition or by purchase, was considered to be safe from the malevolence of demons. As a proof that miracles had not ceased in his time, St. Augustine relates a story of the cure of a young man, who had some of the dust of the holy city suspended in a bag over his bed. De Civitate Dei, lib. 22. c. 8. The fashion of transporting to Europe the soil of Palestine ran through most of the middle ages. At Pisa, the cemetery called *Campo Santo* contains, they say, five fathoms of holy land, brought in 1218 from Jerusalem, by the Pisans. Lalande, Voyage en Italie, tom. 2.

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CHAP. I. village pastor delivered a staff* into the hands of the pilgrim, and threw round him a scarf or girdle, to which a leathern scrip was attached.† Friends and neighbours walked with him to the next town, and benedictions and tears sanctified and embittered the moment of separation. On his return, he placed the branch of the sacred palm-tree‡ (which he had brought

* It is necessary to inform those who are obliged to describe the customs of the middle ages, that the staff of the pilgrim very rarely resembled a long cross or a crook. It was generally a stick as tall as the bearer, with a knob in the middle, and sometimes one at the top. See Fosbrooke's Monachism, p. 422, &c.

† For remarks on the dress of a pilgrim, see note A. at the end of the volume.

‡ Dante mentions the pilgrim bringing home his staff, inwreathed with palm. Che si reca'l bordon di palma cinto. Del Purgatorio, canto 33, 78. The word palmer denoted a holy traveller to Jerusalem. Archb. of Tyre, lib. 21. cap. 17. Du Cange, articles Palmarius and Palmifer. Menage Dict. Etymologique, article Paumiers. Chiamansi Palmieri, inquanto vanno oltra mare, laonde molte volte recano la palma. Dante, Vita Nuova, p. 80. Many writers have said that the pilgrim travelled to some certain place; the palmer to all, and not to any one in particular. The old authors, however, do not always attend to this distinction: Chaucer, for instance, as Mr. Tyrwhitt says, seems to consider all pilgrims to foreign parts as palmers. Notes on the Canterbury Tales, vol. ii. p. 393. 4to. edition. The words palmer and pilgrims, are used as perfectly synonimous in the Visions of Piers Ploughman.

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from Jerusalem,) over the altar of his church, in proof of the accomplishment of his vow; religious thanksgivings were offered up; rustic festivity saluted and honoured him, and he was revered for his piety and successful labours.* CHAP. I.

Though pilgrimages were generally considered acts of virtue, yet some of the leaders of the church accounted them useless and criminal. Gregory, bishop of Nice, in the fourth century, dissuades his flock from these journies. They were not conscientious obligations, he said, for, in the description of persons whom Christ had promised to acknowledge in the next world, the name of pilgrim could not be found. A migratory life was dangerous to virtue, particularly to the modesty of women.† Horror at specta-

* "A true devoted pilgrim is not weary
"To measure kingdoms with his feeble steps."
Two Gentlemen of Verona, act. 2. sc. 7.

† The necessity of making a pilgrimage to Rome and other places was often urged by ladies, who did not wish to be mewed in the solitary gloom of a cloister, "chaunting faint hymns to the cold fruitless moon." In the ninth century, a foreign bishop wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury, requesting, in very earnest terms, that English women of every rank and degree might be prohibited from pilgrimising to Rome. Their gallantries were notorious over all the continent. "Perpaucæ enim sunt civitates in Longobardia, vel in Francia, aut in Gallia, in qua non sit adultera

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CHAP. I. cles of vice would diminish with familiarity, and the moral principle would gradually be destroyed. Malice, idolatry, poisoning, and bloodshed, disgraced Jerusalem itself; and so dreadfully polluted was the city, that if any man wished to have a more than ordinary spiritual communication with Christ, he had better quit his earthly tabernacle at once, than endeavour to enjoy it in places originally sacred, but which had been since defiled.* Some years after the time of Gregory, a similar description of the depravity at Jerusalem was given by Saint Jerome, and the Latin father commends a monk, who, though a resident in Palestine, had but on one occasion travelled to the city.† The opinions of

vel meretrix generis Anglorum: quod scandalum est, et turpitudo totius ecclesiæ." Muratori, Antiquitates Italiæ Med. Ævi Dissert. 58. vol. v. p. 58. "There are few cities in Lombardy, in France, or in Gaul, in which there is not an English adultress or harlot, to the scandal and disgrace of the whole church." Morality did not improve as the world grew older. The prioress in Chaucer, demure as she is, wears a bracelet on which was inscribed the sentence "*Amor vincit omnia.*" The gallant monk, in the same pilgrimage, ties his hood with a true-lover's knot.

* Gregorei, episcopi Nyssæ, de euntibus Ieros. Epist. edit. Molinæo, &c. Hanov. 1607. Roman Catholic writers have been anxious to prove that St. Gregory did not condemn pilgrimages in the abstract. Perhaps so: he contends, however, that in his time no good could result from holy journies.

† Molinæus, note No. 19.

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these two venerable spiritual guides could not stem the torrent of popular religion. The coffers of the church were enriched by the sale of relics, and the dominion of the clergy became powerful, in proportion to the growth of religious abuses and corruptions. Pilgrims from India, Ethiopia, Britannia, and Hibernia, went to Jerusalem; and the tomb of Christ resounded with hymns in various languages. Bishops and teachers would have thought it a disgrace to their piety and learning, if they had not adored their Saviour on the very spot where his cross had first shed the light of his gospel.*

Other reasons for people going to Palestine.

The assertion, that "the coffers of the church "were enriched by the sale of relics," requires some observations; because the sale of one relic in particular encouraged the ardour of pilgrimages, and from that ardour the crusades arose. During the fourth century, Christendom was duped into the belief, that the very cross on which Christ had suffered had been discovered in Jerusalem. The city's bishop was the keeper of the treasure, but the faithful never offered their money in vain for a fragment of the holy wood. They listened with credulity to the assurance of their priests, that a living virtue pervaded an inanimate and insensible substance,

* Jerome, Epist. ad Marcell. Ep. 22. See too Bedæ, Hist. Eccl. lib. 5. c. 15-18.

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CHAP. I.

and that the cross permitted itself every day to be divided into several parts, and yet remained uninjured and entire.* It was publicly exhibited during the religious festivities of Easter, and Jerusalem was crowded with pious strangers to witness the solemn spectacle. But after four ages of perpetual distribution, the world was filled with relics, and superstition craved for a novel object. Accordingly, the Latin clergy of Palestine pretended, that on the vigil of Easter, after the great lamps in the church of the resurrection had been extinguished, they were relighted by God himself. People flocked o m the West to the East in order to behold this act of the divinity, and to catch some portion of a flame, which had the marvellous property of healing all diseases, mental as well as bodily, if those who received it had but faith.†

* Thus Erasmus says, in his entertaining dialogue on pilgrimages, "that if the fragments of the cross were collected, enough would be found for the building of a ship." "Idem causantur de cruce Domini, quæ privatim ac publice tot locis ostendetur, ut si fragmenta conferantur in unum, navis onerariæ justum onus videri possint; et tamen totam crucem suam bajulavit Dominus." No doubt Swift had this passage in his mind when he observes, "another time Lord Peter was telling of an old signpost that belonged to his father, with nails and timber enough in it to build sixteen large men of war." Tale of a Tub, sec. 4.

† De Lumine Sancti Sepulchri Commentatio. Moshemii

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CHAP. I.

Connection between commerce and pilgrimages.

The love of pilgrimages was nourished by a circumstance of no apparent connection with devotional curiosity, the desire of expiation, the collecting of relics, or any other religious principle. Even so early as the days of Chilperic, France* carried on a constant and extensive intercourse with Greece. The opposite shores† of the Mediterranean were also known. Religion and commerce assisted each other, and

Dissertationes, vol. 2. Lubeck, 1727; and Du Cange's note on the thirteenth book of the Alexiad, p. 99. Like Tertullian and his school, these fire-worshippers "measured the merits of their assent by the absurdity of the proposition to be believed."

* De Guignes, in 37 vol. Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, Muratori Antiq. Italiæ Med. Ævi Diss. 30.

† "It has been remarked very long ago, that Palestine is the natural seat of great maritime commerce; which, indeed, first arose in that quarter, although afterwards unnaturally, as it were, it removed to other less convenient shores. To perceive this, one need only cast an eye on the map of this country. It lies between two seas, from which there is a direct navigation to the farthest eastern and western parts of the globe. The land carriage of commodities from India, and other oriental countries, unloaded at Aela, and to be transported to the Mediterranean sea, is very easy, and by the use of camels very cheap; and the caravan trade betwixt Asia and Africa must likewise take its way through Palestine." —Michaelis on the Mosaic Law, vol. 1. p. 72. Smith's translation.

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CHAP. I. the characters of a holy traveller and a worldly merchant were often united in the same person. The hospitals which charity had founded for the faltering pilgrim on the road to Jerusalem, were the resting places of the caravans. The Christians acted like the Muselmans and Hindus, whose expeditions* to Mecca and Haridwar are for mercantile as well as for religious purposes.† From the ninth century to the eleventh, no state was richer or more commercial than that of

* The Muselmans also were fond of pilgrimages to Jerusalem. They venerated that city as having been honoured with the presence of Christ and other prophets, whose divine authority they acknowledged. In Muhammedan theology, it is the place of assemblage at the general resurrection. To die in Jerusalem is as beneficial as to die in Heaven. The most infatuated Christian pilgrim could not have had a higher idea of the meritoriousness of his journey, than what was entertained by the Muselman itinerant. The prayer of a man in his house is equal to one prayer: but in a temple near his house, it is as efficacious as twenty-five prayers: and in a public mosque it is five hundred: but in Jerusalem or Medina, it is worth five thousand common orisons. Mischat ul Musabih, vol. 1. p. 155. 4to. Calcutta, 1809: and the French translations which De Guignes has made o. two Arabic treatises, on the subject of pilgrimages to Jerusalem, in the second volume of Notices des MSS. du Roi.

† James de Vitry, speaking of the pilgrims, says, Latini devotionis gratiâ aut negotiationis advenientes, p. 1082 in Bonjarsius.

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Amalfi.* Its maritime laws were as much respected in Europe, as the Rhodian decisions had been venerated by the Romans. Its money was current throughout the East. Amalfi was nominally dependent on the Emperor of Constantinople, and his formal sanction was obtained to a popular nomination of its dukes or governors.† The wealthy Italians had commerce with Syria, and therefore enjoyed fairer opportunities than most other people to visit the hallowed haunts of pilgrims. They belonged to the Romish church, and were equally incommoded by the heresy of the Greeks, and the infidelity of the Saracens. They were well known in Cairo, one great seat of the Moslem power, and by means of rich presents to the officers of the caliph, they gained a royal licence for the erection of a church in Jerusalem, wherein they might celebrate reli

* William of Apulia bears out this assertion. (Muratori, Diss. 30. vol. i. p. 884.)

Urbs hæc dives opum, populoque referta videtur,
Nulla magis locuplus argento, vestibus, auro.
Partibus innumeris ac plurimus urbe moratur
Nauta, maris cælique vias aperire peritus.
Huc et Alexandri diversa feruntur ab urbe,
Regis et Antiochi. Hæc (etiam ?) freta plurima transit.
Hic Arabes, Indi, Siculi noscuntur, et Afri.
Hæc gens est totum prope nobilitata per orbem,
Et meranda ferens, et amans mercata referre.

† Giannone Istoria di Napoli, lib. 7. cap. 3.

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CHAP. I. A.D. 1050.

gious service, agreeably to the Latin ritual. A temple was accordingly built near that of the Resurrection, and dedicated to the Virgin, under the title of St. Mary ad Latinos. Provision was also made for the pilgrims of both sexes by means of two hospitals, the chapels of which were put under the protection of St. John the Almoner,* and of St. Mary Magdalen. Some Benedictine monks administered the ceremonies of religion, and the duties of benevolence were performed by such of those pious Europeans, of the Romish communion, as had resolved to end their days in Palestine. The weary palmers found repose, the sick were healed, and the poor were relieved in these houses of charity. Humanity was paramount over the distinctions of sects, and even no unfortunate Muselman ever supplicated at the gate in vain. The alms of the people of Southern Italy, and of their conquerors, the Normans, supported the establishment, and the merchants of Amalfi were its faithful trustees.†

* St. John the Almoner, Patriarch of Alexandria, was a fit patron saint; for when, in the seventh century, Jerusalem fell into the hands of the Saracens, he sent money and provisions to the afflicted Christians, and supplied such as fled into Egypt. See Butler's Lives of the Saints, vol. i. p. 274. ed. 1812.

† Glaber, lib. 1. c. 5. in Du Chesne, vol. iv. Archb. of Tyre, p. 934, 935.

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CHAP. I.

Tendency of an opinion prevalent in the tenth century.

But no principles of ecclesiastical discipline, no causes whether superstitious or commercial, gave such strength to the spirit of pilgrimising, as the opinion which distinguished the tenth century, that the reign of Christ, or the Millenium, was at hand.* The people judging of divine matters by human, attributed to a great and good God all the angry passions of mortality. They underwent the austerities of the cloister, and the pains and labours which the monks imposed. God's vicegerents on earth were propitiated by costly gifts, and so strong was the fanaticism, that private property was suffered to decay, and noble edifices were destroyed, from the conviction of their approaching inutility. From every quarter of the Latin world the poor affrighted Christians, deserting their homes and ordinary occupations, crowded to the holy land. The belief was general, that on the place of his former suffering Christ would judge the world: his zealous but ignorant votaries thought, that these voluntary sacrifices and penances would be acceptable with heaven. Years rolled on years; the thunderbolts of vengeance remained in the skies; nature held her appointed course. The world discovered that its interpretations of prophecy had been rash and presumptuous; but Jerusalem became dearer

* Revelations, ch. 20. v. 2-4.

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CHAP I.

than ever to the Christians, because it had been the subject of their reflections and feelings.

Account of a pilgrimage made by some Normans, Englishmen, &c.

Most of the causes of pilgrimages arrived, in the eleventh century, at the height of their influence and effect. The history of that period abounds with narratives of devotional expeditions.* The clergy of Germany had proclaimed their intention of visiting Jerusalem; and Ingulph, a native and historian of England, was one of a Norman troop which joined them at Mayence. The total number of pilgrims was seven thousand, and among the leaders are the names, respectable for rank, of the archbishop of Mayence, and the bishops of Bamberg, Ratisbon, and Utrecht. They progressed down Europe, and through the Greek empire, without molestation; but when they entered the territory of the infidels, they fell into the hands of Arab robbers, and it was not without great losses of money and lives that the band reached Jerusalem. The pilgrims were met by the patriarch, and the Latins and Syrians of the city. They made a solemn procession to the sepulchre, amidst the clangor of cymbals, and a brilliant display of lights;† and the religious feelings of the strangers are well expressed

* Gretser, de Sacris Peregrin. lib. 1. c. 6.

† Grandi cymbalorum tonitru et luminarium immenso fulgore.—Ingulph.

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by the declaration of one of them, that Jesus Christ, the inhabitant of the temple, alone knew the number of prayers which they offered up, the tears they shed, the sighs they breathed. They then viewed the other parts in the city venerable in the imagination, and particularly some direful effects of Saracenian zeal. Their grief at the sight of holy ruins nourished their devotion, and they wished to bathe in the river Jordan, and to kiss with divine rapture all the places where Christ had exercised his ministry: but troops of prowling Arabs were ever hanging on the frontiers of the frequented country; and it consequently was dangerous to go far from Jerusalem. A party of Genoese arrived in the holy land for the objects of trade and religion. From them the Germans purchased a return to Europe; they embarked at Jaffa, and were landed at Brundisium. After viewing, with religious veneration, the monuments of the martyrs at Rome, the archbishop and his flock returned to Germany, and Ingulph took the road for France. Of more than thirty Norman horsemen who had accompanied our English pilgrim, scarcely twenty remained, and they pursued their way to their homes on foot, ill, weary, and pennyless.*

* Ingulphi Historia, p. 903, 904, in the Scriptores post Bedam. Mariani Scoti Chronica, p. 429.

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CHAP. I.

State of the Latins in Palestine.

The state of the Latin pilgrims and residents in the holy land was that of sunshine and storms;* and the vicissitudes did not arise from any uncertainty in Muselman law, but from the different characters of those who, from time to time, moved the machine of government. The propagation of religion was the active principle of Islamism, and war the instrument. Consistently with this spirit, such of the Christian nations as had been subjugated by the Moslems were treated by their conquerors with stronger feelings than the common fierceness and cruelty of victors. The Koran considered its foes as the enemies of God, and genuine Islamism hated and despised those who had obstinately resisted celestial calls. The fancied possession of divine favour was productive of a feeling of contempt and uncharitableness for such as had been deserted by heaven in the day of battle. The Muselmans found it convenient, indeed, to tole-

* Sic igitur civitate Deo amabili et sacrosancta, peccatis nostris exigentibus, infidelium subjectá hostium ditioni, jugum indebitæ servitutis continuis passa est laboribus per annos quadringentos nonaginta, conditionibus alternis. Nam frequenti rerum mutatione, dominos mutavit frequentius: secundum quorum dispositionem, *plerumque lucida*, *plerumque nubila*, recepit intervalla; et ægrotantis more, temporum præsentium, gravabatur, aut respirabat, qualitate. Archb. of Tyre, p. 630.

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rate that which they could not destroy, and to enjoy their triumph by protracted oppression. Conversion or tribute was the choice offered to Christians. Two pieces of gold was the annual price of the safety of every individual *infidel* in Jerusalem: a patriarch and an episcopal establishment of clergy were permitted, and the congregation of the tributaries lived in the quarter of the city where the church of the resurrection stood. The protection which they were seemingly entitled to did not raise their condition much above that of slaves. The smallness of their houses and the meanness of their dress marked the degradation of their state, and persecution banished generous sentiments. Yet humanity occasionally prevailed over an inhuman religion, and the Saracenic governors exclaimed, "the pilgrims cannot have "left their country for bad purposes; they only "seek to fulfil their law." The most peaceful days of the Christians were in the caliphate of Harun al Raschid, one of the patrons of Arabian literature. His liberal views embraced the west as well as the east. When the ministers of Charlemagne arrived at Jerusalem with their master's presents to the sepulchre, the caliph not only received them with kindness and respect, but sent the keys of the city to his great con-

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temporary.* Soon afterwards, a tax was levied by the emperor for the repair of the churches in Palestine; and a large hospital and a library in Jerusalem commemorated the liberality of Charlemagne.† The state of the Christians increased

* Archb. of Tyre, p. 630. Eginhart, 80, 81. This delivery of the keys to Charlemagne has given birth to controversy. Some writers have magnified it into a surrender of the Holy Land: and others, astonished at the liberality of a Saracen, have denied the story altogether. The plain fact is, Harun gave Charlemagne, as lord of the Christians, dominion over the temple to which the European population had flocked. The Christians were not relieved from the capitation tax: at least, if Harun remitted it, his successors enforced it. In Moslem countries, seldom is the act of a sovereign considered binding on his successor. The common story of Charles's journey to Palestine is fabulous.

† Mabillon, Acta Ben. sec. 3. p. 2. Three centuries before the time of Charlemagne there was a monastery at Jerusalem for the reception of travellers.—Greg. Turv. de Marty, lib. i. c. 11. It seems that the first, or at least one of the first houses for the reception of indigent sick, was the one which was built at Rome by Fabiola, a Roman lady, in the course of the fifth century. Houses of reception for travellers were absolutely necessary when religious journies were considered a moral duty; and, as the obligation included the poor as well as the rich, many of those houses were charitable establishments. Jerome built an hospital at Bethlem; and his friend Paula caused several to be erected on the oad to that village, in order that the devout idlers, as she says, might fare better than the mother of God, who, on her necessary journey thither, could find no inn. See the Epistles

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in misery under the Fatimite caliphs. Hakem, CHAP. I.
the third prince, passed all former limits of cruelty. He called himself the personal image of God, and his audacity awed several thousand people into a belief in his claims. He hated and persecuted alike both Jews and Christians; but as vanity and fanaticism had not altogether obliterated all traces of education, he tolerated the Muselmans. At his command the church of the resurrection and the rock of the sepulchre were greatly injured. But, with the versatility of unprincipled passion, he ordered, before his death, that the church should be restored. His successors, however, imitated his example, and despised his command. Long established custom was considered no privilege from an increase to the tribute. All religious ceremonies and processions were prohibited. Property was insecure: children were torn from their parents; the daughters were led to prostitution, the sons to apostacy. The fortitude of the Christians triumphed, and with the pecuniary aid of the Greek emperor, and *perhaps* by the influence of an eminent Muselman woman that had secretly renounced the errors of her fathers, they restored the edifice which commemorated the most wonderful passage in their Redeemer's life. This

of Jerome, cited in Beckman's History of Inventories, vol. iv. p. 471.

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CHAP. I. work was accomplished amidst a thousand dangers. The Moslems did not cease to torment them. The lives of the Christians were often sacrificed: and though, according to the principles of Muhammedan jurisprudence, even a true believer should be condemned to the bowstring for the murder of a tributary infidel, yet the friends of the victims to fanaticism could never obtain legal justice. Every new governor gratified his avarice and savageness at the expense of the Christians: and each murmur of grief and outcry of indignation, were answered by the threat that the church of the resurrection should be destroyed.*

In considering the state of Jerusalem under the Seljukian and Ortokite Turks, we must give the fullest import to words of wretchedness. These people were newly converted Moslems; they fought in the name and for the support of the doctrines of the Abassidan caliphs, and their enthusiasm was fresh and vigorous. The Fatimites were regarded as enemies; and when the Seljuks conquered Jerusalem, the swords of the Turks were plunged with undistinguishing cruelty into the hearts of Egyptians and Christians. The conquerors had not been long enough in the south to have

* Archb. of Tyre, p. 631; Gretser, 63; Renaudot, Hist. Pat. Alexand. p. 390, 397, 400, 401.

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shaken off any of their original or native barbarity. They lived in tents near the towns which they seized, and the hardihood of their savage simplicity mocked the elegant defencelessness of luxury and commerce.

Effects of the Moslems' cruelty.

The cruelties which the Christians experienced in the days of the Fatimite caliphs gave rise to new feelings in the nations of the west. Every pilgrim brought home tales of public sacrilege or individual misery; and though some gloomy minds might consider afflictions as the essence of pilgrimages, and were therefore slow in separating the superfluous from the necessary pains, yet upon general considerations it was evidently a disgrace that the followers of Christ should dwell only by sufferance in the country of their master, and that pagans* should be possessors of a land which HE had consecrated by his presence.

Pope Silvester II. plans a crusade.

At the close of the tenth century, Pope Sylvester II., the ornament of his age, entreated

* Pagan and Paynim are words in frequent use among the writers of the middle ages, for those who followed the doctrines of the Arabian prophet. Le Souldan, says Joinville, estoit le plus puissant roy de toute Payennie. See Du Cange, glossary, article Paganismus. The people of the west thought that the Saracens adored a plurality of gods, and that Muhammed himself was an object of worship. Mahoun signified the Devil, and Mawmettes idols, in old English.

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the church universal to succour the church of Jerusalem, and to redeem a sepulchre which the prophet Isaiah had said should be a glorious one, and which the sons of the destroyer of Satan were making inglorious.* Pisa was the only city which was roused to arms, and all her efforts were mere predatory incursions on the Syrian coast.†

Effects in Europe of the political changes in Asia.

In the next century, political events in the Grecian and Saracenian worlds occasioned a renewal of the endeavour to arm Christendom against Islamism. The conquest of Jerusalem by the generals of Malek Shah has been already mentioned. Not long before that event, Alp Arslan had added the Grecian provinces of Georgia and Armenia to the Tartarian monarchy. Constantinople trembled for her safety; and the Emperor Manuel VII., about the year 1073, supplicated the aid of Pope Gregory VII., expressed deep respect for his Holiness, and attachment to the Latin church. The spiritual sovereign immediately commanded the patriarch of Venice to proceed to Constantinople, and arrange the terms of friendship and re-union. An encyclical letter was

Wish of Gregory VII. respecting the state of the east.

* Bouquet, Recueil des Historiens, &c. vol. x. p. 426.

† The Lives of the Popes in Muratori, Rer. Scrip. Ital. vol. iii. pars I, p. 400.

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sent from Rome to the states and princes of the west, acquainting them with the melancholy fact, that the pagans were overcoming the Christians. The people of Christ had been slain like sheep, and their remorseless murderers had carried their devastations even to the walls of the Imperial city. The faithful ought to lament for the misfortunes of the empire, and the miseries of their brethren; they should not, however, lament only; but, following the example of their divine master, they should give up their lives for their friends. Accordingly, fifty thousand men prepared themselves to rescue the Christians of the east, and to arrest the march of Islamism. So highly was Gregory elated at the ambitious prospect, which the application of Manuel and the armament of Europe opened to his mind, that he even determined to lead the sacred host, and to commit the custody of the Holy See to his great compeer, Henry IV. of Germany.* But all ideas of a crusade soon died

* Ep. Greg. lib. I. 49, II, 31, 37, in Labbe, Concilia, vol. 10. It is evident from the letters of Gregory, that the extinction of heresy, the union of the churches, and the general triumph of the Christian over the Moslem cause, were the great objects of the Pope. Palestine does not seem to have been much thought of. There is only one allusion to it. He says, that 50,000 people had agreed to march to the sepulchre of Christ if he would lead them.

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away, and the Pope deserted the general interests of religion in his ambitious attempts to establish the supreme dominion of papal royalty over the whole of Europe.

History of Asia Minor.

The loss of Georgia and Armenia was quickly followed by other disasters, and the Turkish power advanced to Constantinople. After having subdued almost all the countries of Asia, which owed allegiance to the throne of Bagdad, the Sultan, Malek Shah, commanded his relation, Soliman, to subjugate the territories which were situated between Syria and the Bosphorus. The mighty conquest was achieved, and the generous Sultan elevated his victorious Emir to the dignity of prince over these fresh acquisitions. Nice, in Bithynia, was the capital of the new kingdom of the Seljuks, and the Grecian Emperor, Alexius Comnenus, after having endeavoured to recover Asia Minor, was obliged by the formal instrument of a treaty, to acknowledge the power of his enemies. The city of Antioch had been wrested from the Saracens by the Emperor Diogenes; but the general whom the Byzantine court had appointed governor basely deserted his allegiance, entered into alliances with the Muselmans, and even offered to oblige his new friends by renouncing his religion. His son, however, from motives unrecorded and inscrutable, called in

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the aid of the Nissian monarch. Soliman quickly made himself master of Antioch: but he declined to pay the accustomed tribute to Aleppo; a war ensued, and the Moslem lords of both cities were slain. Asia Minor became the scene of great disorders: Nice was ruled by Abulcasem, a general of Soliman; but the Greeks began to raise their heads, when they saw the Turks no longer supported by the great Seljukian Sultan. The lord of Nice entertained the daring hope of subjugating the Greek empire, but Alexius Comnenus baffled all his designs, and even regained much of Nicomedia. Malek Shah claimed the sovereignty over all the countries which had been torn from the Greeks and Saracens. Abulcasem refused submission; took up arms against his liege lord, and solicited and obtained the promise of aid from the Greek emperor. Alexius resolved to send only a small army, which should not co-operate with his ally; but should, in the general disorganization of affairs, possess itself of Nice. His troops marched into Asia Minor; the soldiers of the Seljukian Sultan took flight; and the Greeks gained a partial sovereignty over the capital of Bithynia. Malek Shah continued his endeavours to fix his imperial dominion on all the Turkish states. His religion gave way to his politics; he even

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CHAP. I. offered to marry the daughter of the Greek emperor, and to restore him all the Grecian territories at that time in Turkish power, if the court of Constantinople would join him in chastising the rebellion of his Emir, Abulcasem, and of several other generals, who, on the death of Soliman, had divided his kingdom. Alexius took no vigorous measures to strengthen his southern frontier, but endeavoured to preserve the friendship both of the Sultan and Abulcasem. The final issue of this crooked policy was prevented, however, by the death of both his
A. D. 1092. Turkish rivals. The family of Soliman gained their liberty when their jealous master, Malek, died; the people of Nice rejoiced to see the children of their former lord, and Kilidge Arslan became sole and undisputed Sultan of Bithynia.*

Continuation of the effects of the Moslems' cruelty.

Though the soldiers of Gregory did not march into Palestine, and the state of Asia was not affected by his preparations, yet the public mind of Europe received additional conviction that a war with the Muselmans in the east was both virtuous and necessary. The unparalleled barbarities of the Ortokites were heard of with indignation in the west. The blood-thirstiness of these Tartars was only checked by their avarice. To prohibit the Christians from pil-

* De Guignes, tome ii. livre xi. p. 1—11. tome i. p. 245.

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grimages and commerce would have proved a serious loss to the revenues of the state; but the Turks considerably increased the capitation tax, and as their cruelties made holy journeys more meritorious, the number of pilgrims suffered no diminution. The wealthy stranger was immediately and violently robbed. Though the simple palmer was the emblem of religious poverty, yet as the Turks could not appreciate the force and self-denial of his pious fervour, they thought it was impossible that any one could have undertaken so long a journey without posessing a large pecuniary viaticum. Unrestrained by humanity in the rigour of their search, they ripped open the bodies of their victims, or waited the slower consequences of an emetic of scammony water.*

Religious and military spirit of Europe.

Every year the passion of indignation and the desire of revenge gained force in the breasts of the Latins, and the chivalric character of the times could not brook the insults of the Muselmans. That flame was still alive which had consumed the Roman empire; arms were more powerful than the laws; barbarian fierceness than christian mildness. Possession of land was the consequence of valour, and to the minds of nations of warriors the mode of tenure should

* Guibert, a good witness for the events of the first crusade, mentions the singular circumstance in the text, p. 480.

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be the same as the mode of acquisition. Continental Europe was divided among an armed aristocracy: the names and titles of king and emperor were held by the successors of Charlemagne; but the barons were the peers rather than the subjects of their feudal lords. The sword encouraged and decided disputes; no one would acquire by labour what he could gain by blood: martial excellence was the point of ambition; for it was the sole road to distinction, the only test of merit. Like the Muselmans, the Christians thought that conquest was the surest proof of divine approbation, and that heaven would never sanction the actions of the wicked. The feudal law in the eleventh century was a mere military code, a system of provisions for attack and defence; the voice of religion was seldom heard amidst the din of arms; and fierceness, violence, and rapine, prevailed in the absence of social order and morals. Private war desolated Europe; the nobles were robbers, and most castles were but dens of thieves, and receptacles of plunder. Churchmen as well as laymen held their estates by the return of military service. They often accompanied their armed vassals with the lord in his warlike expeditions; and it would have been remarkable, if at all times the only office which they performed was that of encouraging the

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soldiers to battle.* As the clergy were taken from the people at large, it was natural that they should on many points possess popular feelings and manners. They partook, therefore, of the violent character of the age. Some made robbery a profession; and the voice even of the wisest among them would not have been listened to in national assemblies if they had not been clad in armour.† The ecclesiastical writers of the time call their superiors tyrants rather than pastors, and reprehend them for resorting to arms rather than to civil laws and church authority. Yet the clergy did much towards accustoming mankind to prefer the authority of law to the power of the sword. At their instigation private wars ceased for certain periods, and on particular days, and the ob-

* The words of Guido, an abbot of Clairville, are remarkable:—Olim non habebant castella et arces ecclesiæ cathedrales, nec incedebant pontifices loricati. Sed nunc propter abundantiam temporalium rerum, flamma, ferro, cæde possessiones ecclesiarum prælati defendunt, quas deberent pauperibus erogare. Du Cange. Gloss. Lat. art. Advocatus. Bishops often appear in old romances in a military as well as a sacerdotal capacity.

† The laws, at variance with opinion, prohibited the clergy from bearing arms. They were repeatedly threatened with the loss of ecclesiastical situations if they went to war. Baluzius, Capitularia Regum Francorum, p. 164 and p. 932.

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CHAP. I. servance of the *Truce of God** was guarded by the terrors of excommunication and anathema. Christianity could not immediately and directly change the face of the world; but she mitigated the horrors of the times by infusing herself into warlike institutions. As the investiture of the toga was the first honour conferred on the Roman youth, so the Germans were incited to ideas of personal consequence, by receiving from their lord, their father, or some near relation, in a general assembly, a lance and a shield. Each petty prince was surrounded by many valiant young men, who formed his ornament in peace, his defence in war.† Military education was common with the German and other conquering nations, both in their original settlements, and in their new acquisitions: and when the tribes of the north had renounced

* This benevolent practice was of high origin. Tacitus mentions, as the only remarkable circumstance among the Angles and many other nations, that at particular seasons the symbol of the earth was carried in sacred procession through the countries where the supposed mother of all things was worshipped, and that during this religious journey the voice of foreign wars and domestic broils was hushed. Germania, c. 40.

† Tacitus calls them comites; and subsequent Latin writers, milites. These words do not convey the idea of obligation to service which are contained in the German word knetcht, or the Saxon cniht.

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idolatry, and adopted the religion of the south, the ceremony of creating a soldier became changed from the delivery of a lance and shield to the girding of a sword on the candidate; the church called upon him to swear always to protect her, and Christian morality added the obligations of rescuing the oppressed, and preserving peace.* A barrier was thus raised against cruelty and injustice; and objects of desire, distinct from rapine and plunder, were before the eyes of martial youth. The true knight was courteous and humane; but he was not unfrequently stern and cruel. His various duties determined his character. As protector of the weak, his mind was elevated and softened, generous and disinterested. But the enemies of the church, as well as the foes

* Du Cange, article Militaire. Du Cange shews that religious ceremonies were used in the investiture of knights, before the Crusades. See too Muratori, Antiquitates Italiæ Med. Ævi Dissert. 53. The minute ceremonies of initiation differed in various countries. The order of knighthood, like the priesthood, was called a holy order. The candidate had his sponsors: he confessed his sins, was regenerated in the bath, received the communion, and, in short, every thing was done that could impress a stamp of sanctity upon the society. Religion gave the character and objects of the institution; and war became, in some measure, virtue. Every freeman was qualified to be a cavalier; and as knights, as well as princes, barons and bishops, might create knights, there was no difficulty in acquiring the name of a soldier.

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CHAP. I. of morals, were the objects of his hatred; he became the judge of opinions as well as of actions, and military spirit prompted him to destroy rather than to convert infidels and heretics. The engrafting of the virtues of humanity and the practical duties of religion on the sanguinary qualities of the warrior, was a circumstance beneficial to the world. But the mixture of the apostle and the soldier was an union which reason abhors. It gave rise to a feeling of violent animosity against the Saracens, and was a strong and active cause of the Crusades.

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CHAP. II.

A HOLY WAR DECREED—MORAL CONVULSION OF EUROPE—FATE OF THE FIRST CRUSADERS.

Peter the Hermit—His pilgrimage to Jerusalem—He resolves to preach a holy war—His wish embraced by Urban II—Policy of that Pope—Peter's preaching—Councils of Placentia and of Clermont—Urban's speech at Clermont—The redemption of the sepulchre resolved upon—The crusade embraced by Europe—Departure of the European rabble—First division—Its destruction in Bulgaria—Second division—Its disasters and outrages on the road to Greece—And destruction in Bithynia—Third division—Its destruction in Hungary—Fourth and last division—Its shocking superstition—Cruelties on the German Jews—Destruction in Hungary.

CHAP. II.

A.D. 1093.

Peter the Hermit.

In times when a pilgrimage to Jerusalem was regarded as the duty of every christian, and when war was the occupation and the delight of Europe, Peter, a native of Amiens, in France, kindled that false and fatal zeal which for two centuries spread its devastating and consuming fires. In his youth he performed feudal military service under the banners of Eustace de

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CHAP. II. Bouillon, father of Godfrey VI. duke of Lorraine: but he did not long aspire after the honours of a hero. He became the husband of a lady of the noble family of Roussy, but as she was old, poor, and ugly, his vanity and his ambition were not gratified by the marriage. His next characters were those of a priest and an anchorite;* and since in his subsequent life he was usually clad in the weeds of a solitary, his cotemporaries surnamed him the Hermit. As the last means of expiating some errors of his early days, he resolved to undergo the pains and perils of a journey to the holy land. When he started from the shade of obscurity, his small and mean person was macerated by austerities; his face was thin and care-worn; but his eye spoke thought and feeling, and atoned for the general insignificance of his appearance. His imagination was sanguine, but his judgment was weak: and therefore his long continued speculations upon religion in the cloister and cell, ended in dreams of rapture. He fancied himself invested with divine authority; and what in truth was but the vision of a heated mind, he believed to be a communication from heaven.†

* Petrarch, in his treatise, De Vita Solit. lib. ii. sec. iv. c. 1, celebrates Peter as a great example of solitary livers.

† On the person and character of Peter, thus writes the

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His pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

He accomplished his journey to Palestine; and, on his arrival at Jerusalem, went through the usual course of prayers and processions. The sacrilegious and inhuman barbarities of the Turks had excited the indignation of every pilgrim, and affected in the strongest manner the ardent fancy of Peter. With his host, a Latin Christian, he conversed on the subjects of the existing distresses of the faithful, the triumph of infidelity, and the ancient grandeur and modern degradation of the holy city. In the patriarch Symeon, too, the hermit found a kindred spirit; and, by means of an interpreter, they communicated their opinions and feelings. The churchman's account of the afflictions of the people of God was met not only with tears, but the reiterated question, whether no way could be discovered to soften and to terminate them. Symeon declared that these misfortunes were the consequences of sin; that the remedy and

archbishop of Tyre:—Sacerdos quidam, Petrus nomine, de regno Francorum, de episcopatu Ambianensi, qui et re et nomine cognominabatur Heremita, eodem fervore tractus, Hierosolymam pervenit. Erat autem hic idem staturâ pusillus, et quantum ad exteriorem hominem, personæ contemptibilis. Sed *major in exiguo regnabat corpore virtus.* Vivacis enim ingenii erat, *et oculum habens perspicacem*, gratumque, et sponte fluens ei non deerat eloquium. P. 637. See, too, the collection of passages from the original writers in Du Cange's note on the Alexiad, p. 79, Venice ditione.

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redress could not be found among the Greeks, who had already lost half their empire, but among the great nations of the west, whose strength was unimpaired. The hermit replied, that if the people of Europe had certain evidence of these facts, they would provide a remedy. "Write therefore," he continued, "both to the "Pope and the Romish church, and to all the "Latin Christians: and affix to your letter the "seal of your office. As a penance for my "sins, I will travel over Europe; I will de- "scribe to princes and people the degraded "state of the church, and will urge them to "repair it."*

He resolves to preach a holy war.

Possessed of his credentials, but principally trusting in the virtue of his cause, Peter returned to Europe, and repaired to Pope Urban II., who was disputing with Guibert, the friend of the emperor, for the pontificate. The tale was eagerly listened to by the Pope. Urban was religious in the sense in which his age understood religion, and he therefore lamented the direful state of Jerusalem: he was humane, and his tears flowed for the insulted and distressed pilgrims. He had been patronized by Gregory VII. through all the course of ecclesiastical dignities, and had succeeded to the ambition, as well as to the power

His wish embraced by Urban II.

* Archb. of Tyre, 637.

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of his master.* But his religious sympathy and lofty desires were not unmingled with selfish feelings, for it appears from the authority of an excellent witness,† that the Pope conferred upon the subject of Peter's message with Bohemond, prince of Tarentum;‡ and that it was by the advice of this Norman freebooter, that he resolved to direct the martial energies of Europe to foreign ends. It was thought, that if his holiness could kindle the flame of war, auxiliaries might be easily engaged, by whose means he would be able to fix himself in the Vatican, and Bohemond could recover those Grecian territories which for awhile had been in the possession of the Normans.§

Policy of that Pope.

It might have been supposed, that when the head of Christendom had adopted the cause of the pilgrims, individual exertion would have been useless. But, devoted to his object, and swelled in self-importance by his influence with the Pope, Peter resolved to preach the deliver-

Peter's preaching.

* Fulcher, 381. Archb. of Tyre, 638. Martenne, Vet. Script. Amp. Coll. V. 516, and the Life of Urban, by P. Pisanus, in the fourth vol. of Muratori, Script. Rer. Ital. p. 352.

† William of Malmsbury, p. 407.

‡ For the family history of this prince, and its connection with Constantinople, see note B.

§ William of Malmsbury, p. 407.

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CHAP. II. ance of the sepulchre. He accordingly traversed Italy and France. His dress expressed self-abasement and mortification: it was only a coarse woollen shirt, and a hermit's mantle.* His mode of living was abstemious; but his qualities did not consist of those selfish penances which are the usual virtues of the recluse. He distributed among the poor those gifts which gratitude showered upon himself; he reclaimed the sinner; terminated disputes, and sowed the germs of virtue.† He was every where hailed and considered as the man of God, and even the hairs which fell from his mule were treasured by the people as relics.‡ His exhortations to vengeance on the Turks were heard with rapture, because they reflected the religious sentiments of the day. The love also of romantic adventure, and the desire of chivalric danger, sympathized with the advice of the preacher. Religion and

* Lanea tunica ad purum, cucullo super, utrisque talaribus, byrrho desuper induebatur; brachis minime, nudipes autem. Guibert, lib. ii. cap. 8.

† Guibert, 482. Archb. of Tyre, 638. Museum Italicum, vol. 1, p. 131.

‡ Quidquid agebat namque, seu loquebatur, quasi quiddam subdivinum videbatur, præsertim cum etiam de ejus mulo pili pro reliquiis raperentur. Guibert, p. 482. The original historians, seldom backward in ascribing speeches to the great characters of the crusades, have not reported any of the sermons of Peter.

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heroism were in unison. In some minds, more- CHAP. II.
over, political considerations had weight, and Europe was regarded as the ally of Constantinople. About the year 1085, Count Robert I. of Flanders, following the religious fashion of the times, endeavoured to expiate his offences against heaven by the pains of pilgrimage. In the course of his return from Jerusalem to Europe, he visited the Grecian court. He promised Alexius five hundred horsemen; and he lost no time in succouring his imperial friend. But the Turkish power continued formidable; and while the fortunes of Constantinople stood on a perilous edge, the emperor implored all Europe to arm itself against Asia.*

* It is certain that Alexius implored the succour of the West. No correct transcripts of his letters have been preserved. All the versions are in Latin. One of them has a clause, that Alexius would rather that his empire should be possessed by the Latin Christians than by the Turks. "Constantinople," he adds, "is rich in gold and in relics, "and you will find an ample reward for your labours." This clause bears strong marks of forgery. Could the emperor so coolly have devoted his capital to pillage? The Greeks, too, hated the Latins with more bitterness than they hated the Turks. It may be remarked, by the way, that in Guibert's abstract of the letter, the assistance of the Europeans is courted by the promise of the possession of the Greek ladies. The Frenchman is indignant that the emperor should think that the Grecian women were more handsome than those of France, or that people should travel

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CHAP. II. In order to rouse and concentrate the mighty powers of holy zeal, Urban assembled two councils of clergy and laymen; one in Italy, the seat of his influence, and the other in France, whither he had been invited by Raymond, count of Tholouse, and the bishop of Chorges.* France, too, was the most military country of the west, and had often acquired fame in sacred wars. The march of Saracenian victory had been closed at Tours. Pepin le Bref, son of Charles Martel, dispossessed the Arabs of Languedoc and Provence, and Charlemagne himself gained laurels and possessions in the north of Spain. Instigated as much by national valour as by religious principle, the French, in the middle of the eleventh century, fought under William duke of

into Greece merely for the sake of beholding feminine beauty.—Quasi Græcarum mulierum species tanta esset, ut Gallicis modo quolibet præferrentur; solaque earum causa Francorum exercitus in Thraciam ageretur. Guibert, p. 476, in Bongarsius. It seems from Du Cange (note on p. 160 of the Alexiad), that Alexius intreated succour not later than the year 1092, and certainly before the death of the great Seljukian princes. Although the versions of his letter differ materially, yet there is a strong tone of misery and humiliation running through them all, which would not have been the case, if the application for assistance had been made after the days of Malek Shah and Soliman. Those distinguished men were the main supporters of Turkish greatness.

* Malmsbury, 470, 474.

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Aquitain against the Saracens. The Christians in Spain had also been succoured by Hugh, duke of Burgundy, and afterwards by his son Eudes.*

Council of Placentia. March 1095.

In March 1095, the Tuscan and Lombard bishops met Urban at Placentia. The legates of Alexius were admitted to the council, in order to shew the necessity of driving the Turks from the confines of Europe; and the resolution of Urban and the prelates, that it was just and politic to assist the emperor of Greece in punishing the Pagans, was approved by inferior clergy and laity, whose numbers have been estimated at four thousand of the former class, and thirty thousand of the latter.† The clerical and secular people of the west were summoned to council in the city of Clermont, the capital of the Lower Auvergne, in the month of November, subsequently to the holding of the Placentian assembly. The dukes of Aquitain and lords of Auvergne had long established their independence over the Francic successors of Charlemagne; but as they were the personal friends of king Philip I., the enemy of Urban,‡

* See the preface of the fourteenth vol. of the great collection of French historians, begun by Dom. Bouquet.

† Muratori, Rer. Scrip. Ital. III. 353. Labbe, Concilia, vol. x. p. 500, &c.

‡ Philip the First was a monster of sensuality and listlessness.

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CHAP. II.

the circumstance is remarkable, that their territories should be chosen for the seat of the meeting,* Individuals of every class of laymen, and every rank of the ecclesiastical order, flocked to Clermont, from all parts of France and Germany; and the deliberations were carried on in an open square, for no hall could contain the unprecedented multitude.† The neighbouring villages and towns were full of men, and the poorest people were happy in the shelter of tents. Seven days were occupied in making decrees on matters of local and temporary interest, and in issuing canons for the edification of manners. The greatest subject was reserved for the eighth day of the sitting of the council. The Pope ascended the pulpit, and exhorted his anxious auditors to make war on the enemies of God. "You recollect,"‡ said he, "my dearest bre-

Council of Clermont 1095, 18th, 28th Nov.

The Pope's legate, thirty bishops, and other clergy, excommunicated him at a council held at Autun, in 1094.

* L'Art de vérifier les Dates, vol. ii. p. 356.

† Guibert (p. 478) estimates the bishops and abbots at more than four hundred; Fulcher (p. 382) at three hundred. General expressions, and not numerical statements, are made of the other ranks of the assembly.

‡ The speech of Urban is variously given by different authors. "They all differ in the mould, but agree in the metal," as Fuller says, Holy War, b. i. c. 8. Robert, p. 31. Baldric, p. 79. Fulcher, p. 382. Arch. of Tyre, p. 639. Labbe, Concilia, tom. x. Robert was present, and his relation of

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Pope Urban's speech.

" thren, many things which have been decreed " for you at this time; some matters in our " council commanded; others inhibited. A " rude and confused chaos of crimes required " the deliberation of many days; an inveterate " malady demanded a sharp remedy. For " awhile we gave unbounded scope to our " clemency: our papal office finds numberless " matters to proscribe, none to spare. But it " has hitherto arisen from human frailty, that " you have erred; and that, deceived by the " speciousness of vice, you have exasperated " the long suffering of God, by too lightly " regarding his forbearance. It has arisen, " too, from human wantonness, that, disregard- " ing lawful wedlock, you have not duly con-

the speech may be one of those which can be depended on. William of Malmsbury (p. 410, 415) had an account of the proceedings from eye-witnesses; and as he had more genius than any writer of his age, his version of this celebrated oration is more interesting than that of any other author. He says, that he was anxious to preserve the general sense unimpaired, though he has omitted many particulars: and he modestly adds, that he could not retain the force of the Pope's eloquence. I have adopted his *attempt;* and inserted it in the text as translated by Mr. Shepherd. Some writers have thought that the early historians did not sufficiently study the science of effect; a speech has therefore been invented, and attributed to Peter; but history has nothing to do with speeches which *ought* to have been spoken.

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CHAP. II. "sidered the heinousness of adultery. From
"too great covetousness also, it has arisen,
"that, as opportunity offered, making captive
"your brethren, bought by the same great
"price, you have outrageously extorted from
"them their wealth. To you, however, now
"suffering this perilous shipwreck of sin, a
"secure haven of rest is offered, unless you
"neglect it. A station of perpetual safety will
"be awarded you, for the exertion of a trifling
"labour against the Turks. Compare, now,
"the labours which you undertook in the
"practice of wickedness, and those which you
"will encounter in the undertaking I advise.
"The intention of committing adultery, or
"murder, begets many fears: for, as Solomon
"says, 'There is nothing more timid than guilt;'
"many labours, for what is more toilsome than
"wickedness? But, 'he who walks uprightly,
"'walks securely.' Of these labours, of these
"fears, the end was sin; the wages of sin is
"death, and the death of sinners is most dread-
"ful. Now the same labours and apprehen-
"sions are required from you, for a better con-
"sideration. The cause of these labours will
"be charity; if thus warned by the command
"of God, you lay down your lives for the
"brethren, the wages of charity will be the
"grace of God; the grace of God is followed

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" by eternal life. Go, then, prosperously: go, CHAP. II.
" then, with confidence, to attack the enemies
" of God. For they, long since, oh, sad re-
" proach to Christians! have seized Syria, Ar-
" menia, and lastly, all Asia Minor, the pro-
" vinces of which are Bithynia, Phrygia, Ga-
" latia, Lydia, Caira, Pamphylia, Isauria,
" Licia, Cilicia; and now they insolently
" domineer over Illyricum, and all the higher
" countries even to the sea, which is called
" the Straits of St. George. Nay, they usurp
" even the sepulchre of our Lord, that singular
" assurance of faith; and sell to our pilgrims
" admissions to that city, which ought, had
" they a trace of their ancient courage left, to
" be open to Christians only. This alone might
" be enough to cloud our brows: but now,
" who, except the most abandoned, or the most
" envious of Christian reputation, can endure
" that we do not divide the world equally with
" them? They inhabit Asia, the third portion
" of the world, as their native soil; which was
" not improperly esteemed by our ancestors
" equal, by the extent of its tracts and greatness
" of its provinces, to the two remaining parts.
" There, formerly, sprung up the branches of
" our devotion; there, all the apostles, except
" two, consecrated their deaths; there, at the
" present day, the Christians, if any survive,

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CHAP. II.

" sustaining life by a wretched kind of agricul-
" ture, pay these miscreants tribute, and even,
" with stifled sighs, long for the participation
" of your liberty, since they have lost their
" own. They hold Africa also, another quarter
" of the world, already possessed by their arms
" for more than two hundred years; which,
" on this account I pronounce derogatory to
" Christian honour, because that country was
" anciently the nurse of celebrated geniuses,
" who, by their divine writings, will mock the
" rust of antiquity, as long as there shall be a
" person who can relish Roman literature :* the
" learned know the truth of what I say. Eu-
" rope, the third portion of the world, remains;
" of which, how small a part do we Christians
" inhabit? For who can call all those barba-
" rians who dwell in remote islands of the
" frozen Ocean, Christians, since they live
" after a savage manner? Even this small
" portion of the world, belonging to us, the
" Turks and Saracens oppress. Thus, for three
" hundred years, Spain and the Balearic Isles
" being subjected to them, the possession of
" the remainder is eagerly anticipated by feeble
" men, who, not having courage to engage
" inclose encounter, love a flying mode of war-

* He alludes to St. Augustine and the fathers of the African church.

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" fare; for the Turk never ventures upon close CHAP. II.
" fight, but when driven from his station, bends
" his bow at a distance, and trusts the winds
" with his meditated wound; and as he has
" poisoned arrows, venom, and not valour, in-
" flicts death on the man he strikes. What-
" ever he effects, then, I attribute to fortune,
" not to courage, because he wars by flight,
" and by poison. It is apparent, too, that every
" race, born in that region, being scorched
" with the intense heat of the sun, abounds
" more in reflection than in blood; and, there-
" fore, they avoid coming to close quarters,
" because they are aware how little blood they
" possess. Whereas the people who are born
" amid the polar frosts, and distant from the
" sun's heat, are less cautious indeed; but,
" elate from their copious and luxuriant flow
" of blood, they fight with the greatest ala-
" crity. You are a nation born in the more
" temperate regions of the world; who may be
" both prodigal of blood, in defiance of death
" and wounds; and are not deficient in pru-
" dence. For, you equally preserve good con-
" duct in camp, and are considerate in battle,
" Thus, endued with skill and with valour,
" you undertake a memorable expedition. You
" will be extolled thoughout all ages, if you
" rescue your brethren from danger. To those

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CHAP. II. " present, in God's name, I command this; to
" the absent I enjoin it. Let such as are going
" to fight for christianity put the form of the
" cross upon their garments, that they may,
" outwardly, demonstrate the love arising from
" their inward faith; enjoying by the gift of
" God, and the privilege of St. Peter, absolu-
" tion from all their crimes: let this in the
" mean time sooth the labours of their journey
" satisfied that they shall obtain, after death,
" the advantages of a blessed martyrdom.
" Putting an end to your crimes, then, that
" christians may at least live peaceably in
" these countries, go, and employ in nobler
" warfare that valour, and that sagacity, which
" you used to waste in civil broils: go, sol-
" diers, every where renowned in fame, go, and
" subdue these dastardly nations. Let the
" noted valour of the French advance; which,
" accompanied by its adjoining nations, shall
" affright the whole world by the single terror
" of its name. But why do I delay you longer,
" by detracting from the courage of the gen-
" tiles? Rather bring to your recollection the
" saying of God. 'Narrow is the way which
" 'leadeth to life.' Be it then that the track
" to be followed is narrow; replete with death,
" and terrible with dangers: still this path
" must lead to your lost country. No doubt

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"you must, 'by much tribulation enter into CHAP. II.
"'the kingdom of God.' Place then before
"your imagination, if you shall be made
"captive, torments and chains; nay, every
"possible suffering that can be inflicted. Ex-
"pect, for the firmness of your faith, even
"horrible punishments, that so, if it be neces-
"sary, you may redeem your souls at the
"expense of your bodies. Do you fear death,
"you men of exemplary courage and intre-
"pidity? Surely human wickedness can devise
"nothing against you worthy to be put in
"competition with heavenly glory: for 'the
"'sufferings of the present time are not wor-
"'thy to be compared to the glory which
"'shall be revealed in us.' Know you not,
"'that for men to live is wretchedness, and
"'happiness to die?' This doctrine, if you
"remember, you imbibed with your mothers'
"milk, through the preaching of the clergy;
"and this doctrine, your ancestors, the martyrs,
"held out by their example. Death sets free
"from its filthy prison the human soul, which
"then takes flight for the mansions fitted for
"its virtues. Death accelerates their country
"to the good: death cuts short the wickedness
"of the ungodly. By means of death, then,
"the soul, made free, is either soothed with
"joyful hope, or is punished without further

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CHAP. II. " apprehension of worse. So long as it is fet-
" tered to the body, it derives from it earthly
" contagion: or, to say more truly, is dead.
" For, earthly with heavenly, and divine with
" mortal, ill agree. The soul, indeed, even
" now, in its state of union with the body, is
" capable of great efforts; it gives life to its
" instrument, secretly moving and animating
" it to exertions almost beyond mortal nature.
" But when, freed from the clog which drags
" it to the earth, it regains its proper station,
" it partakes of a blessed and perfect energy,
" communicating after some measure with the
" invisibility of the divine nature. Discharging
" a double office, therefore, it ministers life to
" the body when it is present, and the cause
" of its change, when it departs. You must
" observe how pleasantly the soul wakes in
" the sleeping body, and, apart from the
" senses, sees many future events, from the
" principle of its relationship to the Deity.
" Why then do ye fear death, who love the
" repose of sleep, which resembles death?
" Surely it must be madness, through lust of
" a transitory life, to deny yourself that which
" is eternal. Rather, my dearest brethren,
" should it so happen, lay down your lives for
" the brotherhood. Rid God's sanctuary of
" the wicked; expel the robbers; bring in the

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" pious. Let no love of relations detain you; CHAP. II.
" for man's chiefest love is towards God. Let
" no attachment to your native soil be an
" impediment; because, in different points of
" view, all the world is exile to the christian,
" and all the world his country. Thus exile
" is his country, and his country exile. Let
" none be restrained from going by the large-
" ness of his patrimony, for a still larger is
" promised him; not of such things as soothe
" the miserable with vain expectation, or flatter
" the indolent disposition with the mean advan-
" tages of wealth, but of such as are shewn by
" perpetual example, and approved by daily
" experience. Yet these too are pleasant,
" but vain, and which, to such as despise them,
" produce reward an hundred-fold. These
" things I publish, these I command: and for
" their execution I fix the end of the ensuing
" spring. God will be gracious to those who
" undertake this expedition, that they may
" have a favourable year, both in abundance of
" produce, and in serenity of season. Those
" who may die will enter the mansions of hea-
" ven, while the living shall behold the sepul-
" chre of the Lord. And what can be greater
" happiness, than for a man in his lifetime
" to see those places where the Lord of Heaven
" was conversant as a man? Blessed are they,
" who, called to their occupations, shall inherit

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CHAP. II. " such a recompense; fortunate are those who " are led to such a conflict, that they may " partake of such rewards."

Cries of Deus vult! Deus lo vult! Dieux el volt! interrupted the Pontiff. He then raised his eyes to heaven in thankfulness, and, by the motion of his hand, commanding silence, he thus proceeded: " Dearest brethren, to-day is veri- " fied the scriptural promise, that where two or " three are gathered together in the name of " Christ, he will be with them. The power of " God can alone have caused this unanimity " of sentiment. Let the very words then which " his spirit dictated, be your cry of war. " When you attack the enemy, let the words " resound from every side, Deus vult! Deus " vult!* The old, the infirm, the weaker

* This expression continued for some time the war cry of the first crusaders. All nations in all ages have used particular words for the excitement of martial ardour. The war cries of the French and Germans were excerpts from the Bardic songs in praise of heroes, which were recited before the battle: from, for instance, the actions of the fabulous Roland and the peers of France. Unlike most of the cries of arms, the expression Deus vult, or Deus id vult, is affirmative. During the siege of Jerusalem, the war cry received the addition of the words, " adjuva Deus." This clause was added on the motion of St. Andrew: " Et sit " signum clamoris vestri, Deus ajuva." Princes, barons, and knights banneret, in short, every person in command had their war cries. In an army, therefore, there were as many proceleusmatick words as there were banners. There was

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" sex altogether, must remain in Europe. CHAP. II.
" They would be an impediment rather than
" an assistance. In this holy undertaking the
" rich should succour their poorer brethren,
" and equip them for war. The clergy must
" not depart without the license of their
" bishops; for if they should, their journey
" will be fruitless. The people must not go
" without a sacerdotal benediction. Let every
" one mark on his breast or back the sign of
" our Lord's cross,* in order that the saying
" may be fulfilled, 'he who takes up the cross
" ' and follows me is worthy of me.†'"

a general cry also, which was usually the name of the commander, or the cry of the king. Raimond, 140, 153. Gesta Francorum, 602. Du Cange in Joinville, Dissert. 12.

* In imitation of Christ, who carried a cross on his shoulder, to the place of execution, the cross was generally worn on the right shoulder, or on the upper part of the back; it was also frequently placed on the top of the arm. Red was, for a long while, even till the time of Richard I. king of England, the general colour of this cross. The materials of the cross were silk, or gold, or cloth: and the most frenzied of the crusaders cut the holy sign on the flesh itself. Du Cange, note on the Alexiad, p. 80, and on Villehardouin, No. 21, in which are collected all the passages of the old authors respecting the cross. Demster's Notes to Accolti de bello sacro, p. 51. The pilgrims on their return to Europe generally placed the cross on the back.

† These additions to Malmsbury's report of the speech are important, and have been taken from Robert Monachus, p. 31, in Bongarsius. An account of the writers in Bongarsius, and

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CHAP. II.

The redemption of the sepulchre resolved upon.

Tears, and groans, and acclamations of assent and applause, were the answers of the Christian multitude to the exhortation of their spiritual lord. The whole assembly knelt, and the Cardinal Gregory poured forth in their name a general confession of sins. Every one smote his breast in sorrow, and the Pope, stretching forth his hands, absolved and blessed them. Adhemar, bishop of Puy, was the first person who solicited a cross from the Pope. One of red cloth was affixed to his right shoulder; and immediately several ecclesiastics and laymen were invested with the sign of their new character. On the next day Urban was pressed to lead the soldiers of Christ on the road to the holy sepulchre; but he had not the personal daring of his illustrious friend and predecessor, Gregory VII., and he therefore shrunk from the honourable distinction. In accordance with the general wish, he deputed his spiritual authority to Adhemar, whose manliness had already excited the admiration of the people. At this moment the ambassadors of Raymond, count of Tholouse, arrived. This powerful prince, and a numerous band of cavaliers, had taken the cross; and he promised council and money to

other original sources of the history of the first crusade, is contained in the Appendix, note C.

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all those who should wish to enter on the sacred way. The multitude were no longer in need of a commander, and were not backward in comparing the bishop and the count to Moses and Aaron.* The council of Clermont made the Truce of God perpetual from the evening of every Wednesday to the morning of every succeeding Monday; it was declared that the persons and property of clergy, women, strangers, and merchants, should always be considered sacred from insult and rapine: and, as the last great aid to religious inclination, the council decreed that the journey to Jerusalem should stand in the place of all ecclesiastical censures, to those who undertook it from motives of religion, and not from the suggestions of avarice or ambition.† CHAP. II.

The preaching of Peter,—the entreaties of Alexius,—the councils of Placentia and‡ Cler- The Crusade embraced by Europe.

* Robert, 32. Baldric, 88. The expression of the people's wish to be led by the Pope, is mentioned only in Mabillon, Mus. Ital. I. 135.

† Labbe, Concilia. X. 507. See Note D.

‡ Malmsbury's observations are highly curious. "The report of the council of Clermont wafted a cheering gale over the minds of Christians. There was no nation so remote, no people so retired, as did not respond to the papal wishes. This ardent love not only inspired the continental provinces, but the most distant islands and savage countries. The Welshman left his hunting; the Scotch his fellowship with

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CHAP. II. mont, and the exertions of the Pope,*—all these concurrent causes enkindled the elements of combustion, turned the people of the west from intestine discord to foreign war, from dull superstition to furious zeal. The military enthusiast heard the voice of Charlemagne calling the French to glory. The religious fanatic

" vermin; the Dane his drinking party; the Norwegian his " raw fish." Malmsbury, p. 416. Robert of Gloucester, after mentioning in general terms the contributions of men which France and England made to the holy war, thus curiously mixes other nations:

" Of Normandy, of Denmark, of Norway, of Bretagne,
" Of Wales and of Ireland, of Gascony and of Spain,
" Of Provence and of Saxony and of Allemagne,
" Of Scotland and of Greece, of Rome and Aquitain."

Chron. p. 393, edit. Hearne.

The Chronicles of Robert of Gloucester, and of Peter Langtoft, are of very little value towards the history of the Crusades.

* The Pope wrote to the bishops of England and of other countries, commanding them to press the sacred theme upon their congregations. M. Paris, p. 19, edit. Watts. He went from town to town, from monastery to monastery in France, in order to encourage religious ardour. The affairs at Clermont answered his selfish purposes. On his return to Italy in the year succeeding the council, he was received with increased veneration; and, by the aid of the crusaders, who arrived daily at Rome, to visit the holy places preparatory to their departure for the East, he made himself master of such parts of the city, as had revolted from him. Hist. Lit. de la France, vol. viii.

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eagerly and credulously listened to tales of visions and dreams. Every wonderful event in the natural world was regarded as an indication of the divine will. Meteors and stars pointed at and fell on the road to Jerusalem. The skies were involved in perpetual storms; and the blaze and terror of anxious and disordered nature, shewed the terrific harmony of heaven with the sanguinary fury of earth.* Prodigies were not confined to the west. In the states of Greece a marvellous number of locusts destroyed the vineyards, but spared the corn. The discovery that the locusts were the forerunners of the Europeans was an ingenious interpretation of the sign; but the diviners, with more nationality than truth, compared the corn with the sobriety of the eastern Christians, and the vines with the licentiousness of the Saracens.† Man fully responded to the supposed calls of God. The moral fabric of Europe was convulsed; the relations and charities of life were broken; society appeared to be dissolved. Persons of every age, rank, and degree, assumed the cross. The storm of public feeling was raised, and neither reason nor authority could

* Archb. of Tyre, 641. Mus. Ital. I. 135. The lives of the Popes, in Muratori, Rerum, Script. Italicarum, vol. iii. p. 352, vol. iv. p. 496.

† Alexiad, p. 225.

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CHAP. II.

guide its course. The prohibition of women from undertaking the journey was passed over in contemptuous silence. They separated themselves from their husbands, where men wanted faith, or resolved to follow them with their helpless infants. Monks, not waiting for the permission of their superiors, threw aside their black mourning gowns, and issued from their cloisters full of the spirit of holy warriors. They who had devoted themselves to a solitary life, mistook the impulses of passion for divine revelations, and thought that Heaven had annulled their oaths of retirement. A stamp of virtue was fixed upon every one who embraced the cause; and many were urged to the semblance of religion by shame, reproach, and fashion.* The numerous cases of hypocrisy

* Remarquez bien, je vous prie, que je ne prétens pas nier, qu'nc ore que les croisades fussent une entreprise de dévotion il n'ait pû y avoir des athées qui en voulurent être, soit pour se faire louer, soit pour éviter le reproche de poltronnerie, ou même celui d'irreligion, soit pour satisfaire leur inclination belliqueuse, ou leur ambition, ou leur curiosité, soit enfin pour commettre mille désordres. Je suis persuadé qu'on peut faire par des motifs d'amour-propre tous les exercices extérieurs de la piété, quelques pénibles qu'ils puissent être. Voici donc ce que je dis: c'est que la prédication et les indulgences avoient animez à cette entreprise, et qui assurément n'abjureroient pas leur religion dans l'ame; lors qu'ils s'abandonnoient à commettre tous les ravages qu'ils commettoient.

Bayle, Pensées Diverses, Œuvres Diverses, vol. iii. p. 90.

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attested the commanding influence of the general religious principle. They who had been visited by criminal justice were permitted to expiate, in the service of God, their sins against the world. The pretence of debtors was admitted, that the calls of heaven were of greater obligation than any claims of man. Murderers, adulterers, robbers, and pirates, quitted their iniquitous pursuits, and declared that they would wash away their sins in the blood of the Infidels.* In short, thousands, nay millions of armed saints and sinners ranged themselves to fight the battles of the Lord.† All nations

* Archb. of Tyre, p. 641. Ordericus Vitalis. p. 720. "A "lamentable case," as Fuller says, "that the devil's black-"guards should be God's soldiers." Hujus (Petri) admonitione assidua et vocatione, episcopi, abbates, clerici et monachi; deinde laici nobilissimi, diversorum regnorum principes; totumque vulgus, tam casti quam incesti adulteri, homicidæ, fures, perjuri, prædones; universumque genus Christianæ professionis; quin et sexus fæmineus, pœnitentia ducti, ad hanc lætantur concurrunt viam. Albertus, Aq. p. 185.

† Fulcher says, that six millions of persons assumed the cross. William of Malmsbury, as usual, follows his calculation. Guibert affirm, that all the kingdoms of Europe could not furnish so great a number; but even his language warrants the inference that Fulcher's statement is some approximation to the truth. Prudence and reason often cooled enthusiasm; and various events incident to human life, prevented the performance of the vow. Fulcher, p. 386. William of Malmsbury, p. 416. Guibert, p. 556.

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CHAP. II. were enveloped in the whirlwind of superstition. It was people, and not merely armies, countries and not only their military representatives, that thought they had received the divine command to unsheath the sword of the Almighty, and to redeem the sepulchre of Christ.

For some months after the session of the council of Clermont, nothing was heard through Europe but the note of preparation for war. Men of all ranks and degrees purchased horses, and arms, and coin. Such as had not taken the vow, paid for their timidity or prudence by supplying the wants of their enthusiastic brethren. The wretched fanatics alienated their land, or sold their instruments of handicraft and husbandry. The caution of the purchasers prevailed over the eagerness of the sellers; and the inequality of the transactions was ridiculed by the cold-hearted and sceptical. Yet, as the contagion of crusading spread, they who had been scoffers became converts; and, like their former objects of satire, sacrificed their property to the necessity of preparation.*

In the spring of the year 1096, the masses of European population began to roll.† But the

* Guibert in Bongarsius, p. 481. Ordericus Vitalis in Duchesne, 720.

† The spring was the period which the Pope fixed for the

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roads were too narrow for the passengers; the paths were obstructed by the number of travellers. When families divided, nature and fanaticism contended for the mastery. A wife consented to the departure of her husband on his vowing to return at the end of three years. Another, in whom fear was stronger than hope, was lost in violence of grief. The husband wore the semblance of indifference, unmoved by the tears of his wife and the kisses of his children; though his heart reproached him for the sternness of his countenance.* On the other hand, fathers led their sons to the place of meeting: women blessed the moment of separation from their husbands; or, if they lamented, it was from the cause that they were not permitted to share the honours and perils of the expedition.† In some instances the poor

departure of the crusaders. See his speech, p. 53, ante. The canons of the council of Clermont, as reported by Labbe, are silent on the matter.

* I am almost afraid of the imputation of classical heresy for thinking of applying to the crusaders the language of Horace, respecting the departure of Regulus from Rome.

Fertur pudicæ conjugis osculum,
Parvosque natos, ut capitis minor,
Ab se removisse, et virilem
Torvus humi posuisse vultum.

† Baldric, p. 88. Guibert, p. 482. Fulcherius Carnotensis, p. 385.

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rustic shod his oxen like horses, and placed his whole family in a cart, where it was amusing to hear the children, on the approach to any large town or castle, inquiring if the object before them were Jerusalem.*

Departure of the European rabble; first division.

The first body of the champions of the cross consisted of twenty thousand foot, and only eight horsemen; and were led by Walter, a gentleman of Burgundy, whose poverty, that evil being more remarkable than his military pretensions, gave him the cognomen of the Pennyless. The people swept along from France to Hungary. Ardent and impetuous,

* Videres mirum quiddam, et plane joco aptissimum pauperes videlicet quosdam bobus biroto applicitis, eisdemque in modum equorum ferratis, substantiolas cum parvulis in carruca convehere : et ipsos infantulos, dum obviam habent quælibet castella vel urbes, si hæc esset Hierusalem, ad quem tenderent rogitare. Guibert, 482. The simplicity of the children is not extraordinary; for so profound was the ignorance of the French even of the fourteenth century, on the subject of geography, that in a MS. of that time of the Chronicle of St. Denys, the city of Jerusalem is placed in the middle of the map; and Alexandria appears as near to it as Nazareth. Hist. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, vol. xvi. p. 185. The idea of a central position of Jerusalem arose perhaps from a false interpretation of Ezekiel, v. 5. It was common with the ancient heathens also, that any place particularly beloved by them stood in the middle of the world. Ovid. Met. x. 167. Euripides, Orest. v. 330.

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they calculated not the difficulties of the way. Hungary was spread over with marshes, and intersected by rivers; and without the friendship of the natives, a passage could scarcely be effected. But, happily for the Crusaders, Christianity had for nearly two centuries* been the national religion, and the king, Carloman, approved of the wishes of Walter. Some cruel Hungarians at Malleville, the modern Zemlin, despoiled sixteen of their guests, but the Christian leader prudently abstained from revenge, and crossed the Maroe, or Save. The flame of piety had not spread into Bulgaria; the people regarded the pilgrims only as so many savage invaders; and the representative of Alexius forbad all commerce. The cravings of hunger were importunate and irresistible, and the mob of Walter turned their arms against the unfriendly Bulgarians. The din of battle sounded through the whole country; but the natives possessed so many local advantages in the contest, that they gained complete success. The miseries of wars are diversified by the different nature of their objects and their supporters; and, in this contest,

Its destruction in Bulgaria.

* The conversion of the Hungarians to Christianity (in the tenth century), is mentioned by Glaber Rodolphus as a most convenient event for the spirit of pilgrimizing. Glaber Rod. Hist. lib. iii. c. 1. p. 23. edit. Frank. 1596.

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CHAP. II. there was an event which characterized the age. Some hundreds of Crusaders fled into a church, in certainty that the Bulgarians would never spill blood in the house of God. But although the people would not draw a sword there, yet conscience allowed them to set the edifice on fire. Many of the miserable refugees were burned to death, and others were killed in leaping from the roof. Walter with a few of his associates escaped through the woods of Bulgaria, found his way to Constantinople, and Alexius promised him protection till the arrival of Peter.*

Second division.

Forty thousand men, women, and children, of all nations and languages, were accompanied, we cannot say guided, by the Hermit himself.† They followed the route of Walter. The promise of Peter to Carloman for the orderly conduct of his companions was accepted, and a

Its disasters and outrages on the road to Greece.

* Albert of Aix, p. 186. The instance of casuistry mentioned in the text is not a solitary one. It was an axiom in those days that the church abhorred the shedding of blood. Therefore, bishops and archbishops used to go to battle armed with clubs, and made no scruple to knock down an enemy, and to beat and bruise him to death, though they held it unlawful to run him through with a sword. Jortin, Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. 3. p. 324.

† Arch of Tyre, p. 643. This statement of the number of Peter's mob is the general one. See Du Cange's note on the Alexiad, p. 80.

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free interchange of money and provisions was permitted between the Crusaders and the Hungarians. Except a few acts of individual outrage, the march to the southern frontier of Hungary was peaceably conducted. But when the mob arrived at Malleville, the sight of the arms and crosses of their precursors on the battlements in triumph, awoke their zeal, and kindled it into revenge. A furious assault on the walls was successful, and, with a very small loss on the side of the invaders, seven thousand of the Hungarians were slain or taken prisoners. The Croises dwelt a few days in the town, and abandoned themselves to every species of grossness and libertinism. Neither public treasures nor private possessions were spared. Virgin modesty was no protection, conjugal virtue no safeguard: and in the midst of their savage excesses they vowed, that in such a way as that they would requite Turkish atrocities. Carloman heard of the perfidiousness of the destroyers, and marched a large army towards the southern frontier. On the news of their approach, Peter left Malleville, and endeavoured to cross the Save. The French division placed themselves and their plunder on rafts, but the impetuosity of the stream separated them from their companions, and they were cut to pieces, or forced into the

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CHAP. II. water, by a large body of Turcomans, who attacked them from the Bulgarian side. The Germans and Lorrainers revenged the death of the French, and Peter slew on the altar of justice the few Turcomans who had survived the battle.* The Maroe was now passed with facility, but the Crusaders found a desert in Bulgaria. The duke had quitted Belgrade for the better fortified town of Nissa, and the people had retreated into their forests with their moveables. Seven days' march brought Peter before the ducal residence; but the formidable appearance of the town prevented a repetition of the attacks which he had made at Malleville: a prudent caution, however, against exasperating the enemy, prompted the duke to allow his people to sell them provisions. The next morning Peter recommenced his way. About an hundred Germans, whom the archbishop of Tyre called the sons of Belial, disputed with a Bulgarian trader, and set fire to some houses. The people in the city were incensed, and rushed upon the rear guard of the Crusaders. Massacre, plunder, and flight were the penalties which the Germans paid for the outrage committed by their countrymen. Peter, on hearing this news, wished to conciliate the Bulgarians: his propositions

* Albert of Aix, 188.

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were mild and courteous; but his companions prevented the benefits of negociation, by attempting to scale the walls of Nissa. All their efforts were fruitless. The engagement now became general, and ended in the route or destruction of ten thousand of Peter's rabble. Their property by rightful possession or plunder was seized, with their women and monks, and every other incumbrance of the camp. The Hermit abandoned himself to tears and despair, until some of his more enterprizing friends recalled his scattered followers. The next day seven thousand of them were assembled, and he continued his march. By degrees other crusaders left their hiding places in the woods and mountains, and Peter found himself at the head of nearly thirty thousand people. But they were destitute of arms and money, and therefore could neither demand nor purchase supplies. Intelligence of their disorders flew to Constantinople, and the emperor, satisfied with the chastisement they had received from the duke of Bulgaria, commanded them to hasten to the south.* Their distress continued till they reached Philippopoli; and in that city the pathetic eloquence of Peter excited the compassion of the inhabitants. The journey to Constantinople was

* Archb. of Tyre, 644—646.

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CHAP. II. marked by no event of moment, and the associates of the Hermit united themselves to Walter, who had been already joined by an undisciplined herd of Italians.* The emperor, seeing their unfitness for war, commanded them to remain in Greece till the arrival of the armies. He supplied them with quarters, money, and provisions; but as soon as they recovered their strength, they repaid his generosity by deeds of flagitiousness on his people. Palaces and churches were plundered to afford them means of intoxication and excess.† Peter and all those in whom enthusiasm had not been quite absorbed in the love of pillage, requested permission to pass into Bithynia. Alexius seized this desire, and assisted them to cross the Bosphorus. For two months they continued tranquil, but at the end of that time, they recommenced their excesses, with all the virulence and malevolence of concealed but burning hatred. Edifices sacred to religion were pillaged, and no consideration could make the wretches observe the imperial recommendation of peace and good order, until the arrival of the military squadrons of Europe. Peter lost all authority over them; and embracing the occa-

* Balric, 89.

† Baldric, p. 89. Tudebodus, p. 777 and 778. Ord. Vit. p. 724.

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sion of some acts of apparent injustice by the imperial commissioners, he returned to Constantinople for the declared purpose of remonstrating with the emperor. Among the Crusaders particularly distinguished for ferocity were ten thousand Normans or French.* That they destroyed children at the breast, and scattered their quivering limbs in the air, is the charge of the Grecian historian:† that their crimes were enormous, is the general confession of the Latin writers. They quitted their companions in arms, and carried their ravages even to the walls of Nice, the capital of Bythinia. They took the castle of Xerigord, and slaughtered the Turkish garrison. The sultan marched fifteen thousand men against them. Reginald divided his soldiers between an ambuscade and the defence of the castle: but his force was inadequate to the accomplishment of both objects; and his troops in the ambuscade were put to the sword. He escaped with difficulty to the castle. The Turks destroyed the water conduits, and then blockaded the fortress, in full knowledge that it would yield to a short, bloodless siege. In vain the ecclesiastics remonstrated with their people, that as they had often provoked God by their excesses, they

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* Baldric, p. 89. Tudebodus, p. 778.

† Alexiad. p. 226.

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should now gain his favour by their patience. If their repentance were sincere, the same Deity who had formerly opened the rocks of Arabia, would now deliver his chosen people by a miraculous interposition. But animal nature could not be sustained by cold expostulations or presumptuous hopes. After a private agreement with the besiegers, Reginald and some of the soldiers left the castle in the dress and with the manner of men resolute for battle. They were received with open arms by the Turks; they embraced islamism: and their companions in the castle were immediately attacked and slaughtered.

Its destruction in Bithynia.

The main body of Peter's mob was yet fresh and vigorous. The Sultan commanded his flying Tartars to skirmish with the Crusaders, himself disdaining to meet his wretched foes in a general action. After much blood had been shed, he quickened the destruction by stratagem. He circulated a story through the Christian camp that Nice had fallen. The greedy rabble entreated Walter to lead them forward. But he prudently* replied, that he was only the lieutenant of Peter, and could not march without his master's orders. But the clamours of the people

* Walter generally conducted himself with discretion. Fuller is wrong in saying that "he had more of the sail of valour than the ballast of judgment."

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could not be disregarded; no discipline nor order were preserved; the military ensigns had no followers; but, like rivers which had overflown their banks, the mob rushed towards the object of plunder. When they arrived on the plain which surrounds the city of Nice, the Turks poured on the disorderly multitude. The number of wounds with which Walter fell, attested the vigour of his resistance; most of his associates were slain; the cruel and sensual Turks pressed on to the camp, sacrificed the priests on Christian altars, and reserved for the seraglio such of the women as were beautiful. The fierce soldiers of Asia gratified their savageness with collecting the bones of the fallen. A lofty hill was made of them, and it remained for many years a dreadful warning to succeeding bands of Crusaders. Three thousand persons were all that survived the Turkish scimitar. They retreated to the gulph of Nicomedia, and secured themselves in the fortress of Civitot. One of the wretched fugitives went to Constantinople, and made Peter acquainted with the dreadful issue of the impatience and rapacity of his men. The Hermit solicited the emperor to spare the miserable remains of the soldiers of Jesus Christ; and as they were no objects of terror, Alexius

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sent a body of troops, who covered their march to Constantinople.*

Third division.

Godeschal, a German priest, emulated the fame of Peter, and collected a band of fifteen thousand fiery enthusiasts from Lorraine, the east of France and Bavaria. They pursued the usual route, and the prudent Hungarian monarch endeavoured to quicken and facilitate their passage through his dominions. Their savage manners corresponded with that ferocious enthusiasm which had driven them to assume the cross. At Mersburgh, the modern Ouar or Moson, they committed horrible outrages, and their annalists have recorded, whether as an instance of the general disposition, or as the height of crime, that, on occasion of a trifling quarrel, they impaled a young Hungarian in the market-place.† All Hungary rose in arms against the violators of hospitality; but the king, dreading the fury of desperation to which hostility might drive the Croises, resolved to accomplish their ruin by stratagem. He therefore, with firmness and courtesy, told the strangers, that peace and war were at his command. He was disposed to spare the guilty, but in order to purchase his

* Mus. Ital. I. 140—143. Albert of Aix (who is more full than other writers on Peter and his mob), 186—193. Archb. of Tyre, 643—647. Alexiad, 226 and 227.

† Albert, 194.

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clemency they must surrender their arms; and he assured them that this action of peace and obedience would terminate his anger, and renew his kind inclinations. Simplicity is the companion of vice as well as of virtue, and the people therefore resigned their means of personal defence, and accepted a promise of clemency. They expressed their reliance upon the good faith of the king, and the christian character of his subjects, not choosing to think that their own atrocities deserved the severest punishment, and had cast shame and disgrace upon all professions of virtue. Where they expected pardon they found retaliation. The Hungarians rushed upon the naked and unarmed multitude, the plains of Belgrade were covered with their bodies, and a few only of Godeschal's people escaped to spread over the north the tale of woe.* CHAP. II. Its destruction in Hungary.

Before Europe glittered with the pomp and splendour of chivalry, another herd of wild and desperate savages scourged and devastated the world. They issued from England, France, Flanders, and Lorraine. Their avowed principle of union was the redemption of the holy sepulchre. History is silent on the subordinate modes and bands of connection, except the Fourthand last division. Its shocking superstition.

* Albert, p. 194. Archb. of Tyre, p. 648.

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horrible superstition of adoring and following a goat and a goose, which they believed to be filled with the divine spirit: and if such were their religion, we cannot wonder at the brutality of their manners. Besides, their fanaticism was the height of fury, for these ministers of the devouring flame nearly trebled their precursors. Their zeal was guided by envy and malignity, and they pretended that it was unjust that any foes of God should enjoy temporal prosperity.

Cruelties on the German Jews.

The Jews enriched the towns on the banks of the Moselle and of the Rhine, and communicated to France and Germany the products of each respective country. The city of Cologne was the first city which was stained with their blood. The sanctity of the archiepiscopal palace at Mayence, the sacred presence of the venerable metropolitan, could not shield seven hundred of the children of Israel from the swords of men, who professed a religion of mercy and love. The bishop of Spires bravely and successfully defended the Jews in his city; but the generosity of the bishops of Treves and Worms was not equally pure and meritorious, if it be true that they compelled the objects of their protection to change their religion. Many firm and noble spirits disdained apostacy. Some of them retired to a chamber of the bishop at Worms, on pretence of deliberating on the re-

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nunciation of their faith. Deliberation produced virtue, and by self-slaughter they disappointed the cruelty of their enemies. More appalling spectacles were witnessed at Treves. Mothers plunged the dagger into the breasts of their own children; fathers and sons destroyed each other, and women threw themselves into the Moselle.*

When the measure of murder and robbery was full, the infernal multitude proceeded on their journey. Two hundred thousand people, of whom only three thousand were horsemen, entered Hungary. They hurried on to the south in their usual career of carnage and rapine; but when they came to Mersbourg, their passage was opposed by an Hungarian army. Their requests to the king's general for provisions and a free passage were denied; but they forced a bridge over the Danube; and, gathering strength from the desperateness of their situation, they succeeded in making some breaches in the wall of the town. The ruin of the Hungarian nation appeared inevitable, and

* Albert, 195. Archb. of Tyre, 649. Alberic Chron. p. 149. The Chronicles in Bouquet, xii. 218, 222, 411. Both Albert and the Archbishop are indignant at the treatment which the Jews received. After this calamitous event the emperor took the Jews into his protection as subjects of his imperial domain. Pleffel, Hist. d'Allemagne, vol. i. p. 216.

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the king with his nobles was prepared to fly to the south. By some strange panic, which the best historians can neither explain nor describe, the besiegers deserted the assault and fled. Their cowardice was as abject as their boldness had been ferocious: and the Hungarians pursued them with such slaughter, that the waters of the Danube were for days red with their blood. But few of the rabble survived. Count Emicho, who had gained damnatory distinction by his cruelties on the Jews, succeeded in flying into Germany. Some others escaped to the south; and in time joined the regular forces of the feudal princes of Europe.*

Their destruction in Hungary.

* Albert, 195, 196. According to Albert, there could have been very few survivors of the two hundred thousand. The Archbishop of Tyre (p. 649, 650) says, that the greatest part returned with Emicho to Germany. Albert's account of the mob is very full, and the picture is very dark. He makes the destruction of this goat and goose mob the judgment of heaven on their crimes and impiety. Albert had his account of their cruelties from eye-witnesses; the Archbishop was a much later writer. Fulcher, and his copyist, Malmsbury, are the only early writers who describe the conduct of the European mob as virtuous and orderly. But their account of the march of these poor wretches is comprised in a few lines, and does not embrace those details which are contained in the narratives of the other authors whom I have quoted.

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CHAP. III.

CHARACTERS OF THE LEADERS OF THE FIRST CRUSADE.—MARCH OF THE ARMIES TO CONSTANTINOPLE.

History and character of Godfrey of Bouillon—March of the Frisons, Lorrainers, &c. through Hungary into Thrace—Characters of the count of Vermandois, the count of Blois, the count of Flanders, and Robert Curthose, duke of Normandy—March of the French, Flemish, Norman and English Crusaders through Italy—The count of Vermandois arrives at Constantinople, and swears fealty to Alexius—War between Godfrey and the Emperor—Godfrey reaches Constantinople—After many alternatives of peace and war, Godfrey, &c. do homage—Boldness of a Crusader—Godfrey crosses the Hellespont—Is joined by the count of Flanders—Characters of Bohemond, prince of Tarentum, and Tancred—March of the Italians to Constantinople—Means of Alexius to gain the homage of Bohemond—Tancred passes into Asia without swearing fealty—Character of Raymond, count of Thoulouse—Course of the Provençals into Greece—Raymond takes a qualified oath of allegiance—Arrival of the duke of Normandy, the count of Blois, and others, in Asia Minor.

So horrible were the barbarities of the European mob, that we can feel no regret for the

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disastrous issues of popular fervor. We cannot turn from the folly and crimes of the people to any grandeur of heroism, or any splendour of success. More than a quarter of a million* of wretched fanatics perished in the first great convulsion of enthusiasm, and the Muselman banners still floated over the walls of Jerusalem. While the bones of the Croises were whitening on the plains of Nice, or putrifying in the marshes of Hungary, the feudal princes of Europe were collecting their tenants and retainers, and arraying them for war.† Different scenes are now before us; scenes disfigured, indeed, but not totally characterized by horror and flagitiousness. Courage in various forms,

* Walter's mob,..... 20,000
Peter's..... 40,000
Godeschal's..... 15,000
Last division 200,000

275,000

Almost all these people perished. The Italian mob that joined Walter has not been numbered by any of the original historians of the first crusade.

† Concourse in arms, fierce faces threatening war,
Giants of mighty bone and bold emprise,
Part wield their arms, part curb the foaming steed,
Single or in array of battle rang'd,
Both horse and foot now idly mustering stood.
Paradise Lost, 11. 641.

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wisdom, prudence, and skill in endless combinations, appear in the characters and conduct of the renowned leaders of the crusade. Their fanaticism was more methodized than that of their savage precursors, and is therefore a more interesting subject of contemplation.

History and character of Godfrey of Bouillon.

The chief, who was greatest in respect of personal merit, and inferior to few in political importance, was Godfrey VI. lord of Bouillon, marquis of Anvers, and duke of Brabant, or the Lower Lorraine. The states of Lorraine arose into independence on the ruins of Charlemagne's empire. They were the frequent cause of war between the German rulers and the Carlovingian princes of France; and were finally annexed to the imperial house of Saxony. In the middle of the tenth century, the emperor Otho I. gave them to his brother Bruno, archbishop of Cologne, who divided them into the Upper and the Lower Lorraine,* and made a valiant peer, named Godfrey, lord of the last division, reserv-

* The two duchies of Upper and Lower Lorraine comprise what is generally called the kingdom of Lorraine. The archbishop gave the dukedom of the first division to Gerard, count of Alsace, A.D. 1048. The counts of Alsace and counts of Habsburgh were branches of the same family. After a division which lasted eight centuries, the two branches were re-united in the year 1745, by the marriage of Francis Stephen, duke of Lorraine, and Maria Theresa, daughter of the emperor Charles the VI.

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ing some feudal honours to himself, under the title of archduke. The Lower Lorraine comprised Brabant, Hainault, Namur, Luxembourg, Liege, and Limberg; and the name of Brabant was often applied to the whole of the archduchy. The father of Godfrey VI. was Eustace II. count of Boulogne, celebrated for his bravery and power among the puissant and courageous lords of Belgium. His mother was Ida, daughter of Godfrey le Barbu, duke of the Lower Lorraine. He was apparently destined to act a great part on the theatre of the world, for nature had bounteously bestowed upon him her choicest gifts. His understanding was enriched with such knowledge and learning as his times possessed: and his ready use of the Latin, Teutonic, and (one of their results) the Roman languages, qualified him for the office of mediator among confederated but disputing nations. The gentlest manners were united to the firmest spirit;* the amiableness of virtue to its commanding gravity. He was alike distinguished for political courage and for personal bravery. His lofty mind was capable of the grandest enterprises. His deportment was moral; his piety was fervent; and he appeared, perhaps, to

* How well an old writer has described a true soldier:

Preux chevalier, n'en doutez pas,
Doit ferir hault, et parler bas.

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be better fitted for a cloister of reformed monks, than for the command of a furious and licentious soldiery. He regretted the stern necessity which drew him from the immediate service of God: but when in arms he was a hero; and his martial zeal in the cause of heaven was always directed by prudence, and tempered by philanthropy.* In the wars between the emperor and the Popes, he took the part of Henry IV.; he received the distinction of bearing the imperial standard; and his own heroical valour changed the tide of victory, and gave the throne to his friend. On the death of his maternal grandfather, and the termination of the rebellion of Conrad, son of the emperor, he was

* E pien di fè, di zelo, ogni mortale
Gloria, impero, tesor mette in non cale.
Tasso, La Gerus. Liber. I.

In another place Tasso gives us a very high idea of Godfrey, by equalling him to Raymond in the council, and Tancred in the field.

Veramente è costui nato all' impero,
Sì del regnar, del commandar sa l'arti:
E non minor che duce è cavaliero;
Ma del doppio valor tutte ha le parti.
Nè fra turba sì grande uom più guerriero,
O più saggio di lui potrei mostrati.
Sol Raimondo in consiglio, et in battaglia
Sol Rinaldo e Tancredi a lui s'agguaglia.
La Gerus. Liber. III. 59.

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A.D.1089.

invested with the titles of duke of Lorraine, marquis of Anvers, and lord of Bouillon. Gratitude preserved the mind of Godfrey firm and energetic in his allegiance. In the siege of Rome he broke through the walls, and opened the gates to the assailants. These services were ill requited. Henry dishonoured, in an outrageous manner, his empress Praxeda, who was sister of the duke of Lorraine. Alive to every call of honour, and knowing that marriage does not supersede the claims of consanguinity, he armed himself against the emperor; his valour triumphed, and Henry was put to flight. From the siege of Rome till the report reached him of the intended expedition to Jerusalem, a lingering fever burnt in Godfrey's veins. But the blast of the holy trumpet roused his martial and religious spirit; and he resolved to go to the holy land, if God would restore his health. "Immediately," says Malmsbury, "he shook disease from his limbs, and "rising with expanded breast, as it were, from "years of decrepitude, he shone with reno-"vated youth." He appeased the wrath of the clergy of Verdun by yielding to them his temporal rights over their episcopal city;* and in

* Throughout the crusades, most persons, considering the difficulty of the journey, and the perils of war, performed those acts which men on the point of death observed; such as settling

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order to furnish his Viaticum, he sold to the church of Liege his beautiful lordship and castle of Bouillon.* His brother Baldwin, his relation Baldwin du Bourg,† and many other

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their family affairs, and making restitutions to the church or private persons. Old title deeds abound with these conveyances. The great increase of monasteries in the eleventh and succeeding centuries, very much proceeded from this cause. The bishop of Chartres prevailed on his lord, previously to his departure from France for the holy land, to renounce for himself and his successors the right which the counts of Chartres enjoyed, of pillaging the houses of the bishop, after his decease, of its goods, chattels, &c. L'Art de vérifier les Dates, vol. ii. p. 616.

* Whether he received seven thousand marks of silver or fifteen hundred, is a point of little moment to us; but some writers have maintained that no such sale was made, and that the church of Liege unjustly possessed themselves of the estate after the death of Godfrey. On the subject of Godfrey's genealogy and character, see an article in the eighth volume of the Literary History of France. L'Art de vérifier les Dates, iii. 96, &c. ii. 760. Malmsbury, p. 448. Archb. of Tyre, 651. Godfrey of Bouillon died childless; a count of Limberg seems to have been the general possessor of his estates till the year 1106, when the emperor Henry V. conferred the duchy of the Lower Lorraine upon Godfrey, count of Louvain, whose male descendants reigned there until the year 1355, under the title of dukes of Brabant. The duchy passed then to the dukes of Burgundy. Koch, Tableau des Révolutions de l'Europe, tom. i. p. 96.

† This Baldwin du Bourg was a son of Hugh I. count of Réthel, a town on the Aisne, seven leagues from Rheims, and twelve from Chalons. The grandfather of Baldwin was lord of

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knights high in fame, marched under his standard. The army comprised the Frisons, the Lorrainers, and indeed all the votaries of the sepulchre who dwelt between the Rhine and the Elbe.

His march through Hungary into Thrace.

They commenced their march from the Moselle in the month of August 1096, and proceeded with perfect discipline till they reached the northern frontier of Hungary. Godfrey knew the difficulty of passing through the country which laid before him, without permission of the Hungarians; and heaps of unburied corpses around warned him to be cautious of provoking a powerful foe. His ambassadors to Carloman demanded the cause of the fate of their precursors. If they had been slain in the name of justice, the champions of the cross would lament their iniquity: but if they had been put to death as innocent strangers claiming hospitality, then Godfrey of Bouillon was prepared to punish their murderers. The king replied that those who had followed Peter,

the town of Setunia, or Stenai, in addition to the usual territory of the counts of Réthel; and hence the distinction of du Bourg to the crusading Baldwin. See L'Art de vérifier les Dates, i. 439. ii. 631. The writers in the Gesta Dei per Francos call Baldwin du Bourg the cognatus and the consanguineus of Godfrey; but I have searched in vain for the exact mode of the relationship.

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Godeschal, and other preceding leaders, had not been disciples of Christ. The rabble of the Hermit, instead of evincing their gratitude, had, on quitting the kingdom, committed direful desolation. The soldiers of Godeschal had been kindly received, but were guilty of murder and rapine. Another repetition of these enormities could not be endured; and the Hungarians had therefore destroyed the next detestable crowd. These just representations were acceptable to the envoys of the pious Godfrey, who were honourably dismissed to their camp, with letters of friendship from the king to the duke, and an invitation to an interview at the fortress of Cyperon, or Poson. Godfrey went towards the place with a train of three hundred cavaliers; but accompanied only by three private friends he met Carloman, and conversed on the peace and reconciliation of the Christians. Among nations, even the most savage, the rights of hospitality are inviolable; and Godfrey and twelve of his associates repaired to the capital, and commanded his escort to return to the main body of the army. After a few days of festivity, it was agreed between the duke and the king, that the Crusaders should march from the north to the south of Hungary; that the Hungarians should sell them provisions on equitable terms; and that Baldwin should be the hostage on the

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part of the Franks.* But Baldwin was ill disposed to the office, until the Duke of Lorraine shamed his selfishness, by declaring that he himself would undertake it. Baldwin and his family were delivered to Carloman; and by the good conduct of the people, under the private admonition and public exhortation of Godfrey, a situation of peril was converted into a post of honourable distinction. A free commerce of money and goods was carried on between the strangers and the natives; and the soldiers of the cross marched through Hungary with military discipline and religious decorum. On the banks of the Save, near Malleville, the hostages were released, and the Crusaders entered the states of Greece.† They halted for a day at Belgrade, then pursued their course through the woods of Bulgaria into Thrace, and reposed themselves at Philippopoli. Godfrey's attention to order was seconded by Alexius, who opened the imperial granaries to his allies. The emperor's liberality preserved the Latins; for the necessities for so large an army could not be provided for from countries which had been devastated by the wars between the Bulgarians and other savage hordes with the Greeks.

* Albert, 198. Archb. of Tyre, 652.

† Albert, 199. Archb. of Tyre, 652.

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While Godfrey was leading the armies of Lorraine and northern Germany through the Hungarian marshes, Hugh, the great earl, Count of Vermandois, and brother of the French King, was calling to his side the armed pilgrims from Flanders and England, and the middle and north of France. His virtues and personal graces were worthy of a royal race. He was a brave and accomplished cavalier; but as he was not deeply imbued with a devotional spirit like that of Godfrey, his consciousness of merit was unrestrained by religious humility, and it displayed itself in a proud and lofty deportment.* The knights of honourable name who marched with the Capetian prince were as numerous as the Grecian warriors at the siege of Troy.† Few chieftains brought so many soldiers to the standard as Stephen Count of Blois and Chartres. He was one of the most potent barons of France; and in the exaggeration of flattery, the number of his castles was said to have been equal to the amount of the days of the year. He had experienced the clemency of Philip, his nominal liege lord; in return he aided him in quelling a rebellion, and in march-

Character of the count of Vermandois.

Count of Blois.

* Robert, 34. Guibert, 485. Alexiad, 227.

† Unius enim, duum, trium, seu quatuor oppidorum dominos quis numeret? quorum tanta fuit copia, ut vix totidem coegisse putetor obsidio Trojana. Guibert, 486.

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ing with his brother to the crusade.* His military skill consisted in the management of cavalry; but he better understood than practised the duties of a general; for he was one of the few champions of the cross whose character was blighted by the suspicion of cowardice. He was, however, celebrated for his sagacity; and his eloquent manner of communicating to others the stores of his cultivated mind, made him fit for the office which he sustained in the holy war, of president of the council of chiefs. Robert, count of Flanders, was not inferior in rank and power to any of his coadjutors: but he was not qualified for lofty enterprises. He was famed for irregular exploits, not systematic operations; and his courage in the field was the mere activity of brutal strength. Robert Curthose,†

Connt of Flanders.

* L'Art de vérifier les Dates, ii. 615.

† Robert the First, grandfather of Robert Curthose, went on a foot pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the year 1035, as an atonement for a long life of personal excesses and political crimes. At Constantinople he joined the count of Anjou. The duke was taken ill in Asia Minor, and put on a litter, which was carried by four Moors. A Norman, returning from Jerusalem, met the party, and on asking who was in the litter, the duke, recognizing the man, raised himself and exclaimed, "Tell your "countrymen that you saw me carried into paradise by four "devils." Robert made his pilgrimage, but died at Nice on his way home, July 1036. Brompton, 911, 913. W. Gemiticensis, v. 13.

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Duke of Normandy

duke of Normandy, son of William the Conqueror, embraced the martial and religious cause with a furious and precipitate passion. He mortgaged his duchy to his brother Rufus for ten thousand marks, and attached himself to the army of Hugh. When called upon to speak and act, the duke was eloquent and skilful; but his accomplishments were not sustained by the silent and solid virtues of prudence and good sense; and so viciously easy was his disposition, that he was unfit to rule over a turbulent and half civilized people. He had not the general Norman character of ostentation, but his selfishness wore the more disgraceful garb of voluptuousness. The Norman and English* Crusaders assembled under his standard, and among the independent lords who accompanied him, were Eustace, earl of Boulogne† (a brother of Godfrey, duke of Lorraine), Stephen, earl of Albemarle, Roger de Clinton, bishop of Litch-

* England (the Pope's pack-horse in that age, which seldom rested in the stable when there was any work to be done) sent many brave men under Robert duke of Normandy: as Beauchamp and others, whose names are lost. Neither surely did the Irishmen's feet stick in their bogs, though we find no particular mention of their achievements.—Fuller, Hist. of the Holy War, book i. ch. 13.

† Eustace marched with duke Robert, and not with Godfrey. Henry of Huntingdon, p. 374, and Annals of Waverly, in Gale, p. 142. Both Eustace and his father were always attached to

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field,* and the celebrated Odo, bishop of Bayeux, earl of Kent.†

Their march through Italy.

The soldiers of Hugh pursued a shorter road than the often-beaten track through Hungary. They crossed the Alps into Italy, with the intention of embarking from some of its harbours, and proceeding by sea to the holy land. They found Pope Urban at Lucca, and their leader received from him the standard of St. Peter.‡

the duke of Normandy, and frequently aided him in his altercations with William Rufus and Henry the First.

* He was an ancestor of the earls of Lincoln, and present duke of Newcastle, as I learn from Mr. Wiffen's admirable translation of Tasso, vol. 1. p. cxlix.

† Malmsbury, 349, 477. Ordericus. Vit. 664, 724. Mus. Ital. i. 133. The earl of Albermarle distinguished himself at various times during the crusade; but the earl bishop died at Rome before the army left Italy. Dugdale, Baronage, i. 24, 61. According to the authors of L'Art de vérifier les Dates, i. p. 842, one of the sons of Malcolm the Third, conqueror of Macbeth, left Scotland in 1096 for the holy land. If such had been the fact, it is most probable that he would have marched with Eustace earl of Boulogne, who married his sister Mary. But I cannot find in the Abridgement of the Scots Chronicle (Edinburgh, 1633) that Malcolm had a son who went to Palestine. Dr. Anderson, in his Royal Genealogies, is likewise silent; but he, I observe, has no other authority for the part of his book that relates to this subject, than the already mentioned Abridgment. Most of the article on Scotland, in the work of the Benedictines, it is stated, was taken from the diplomata of James Anderson and Ruddiman; but the circumstance we are inquiring about is not spoken of in that book.

‡ Robert, 35. Fulcher, 384. In the wars which princes

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The whole expedition seemed by the magnificence of its equipments, to be destined for pleasure rather than war, and it wasted the autumn in the gaiety and dissipation of Italy. Robert of Normandy, and Stephen of Chartres, spread their troops for winter quarters among the towns of Bari and Otranto; but no regard for seasons could restrain the impatience of Hugh. Before his departure, he wrote a letter to the Emperor Alexius, in which he desires to be received in a manner becoming his dignity.* He also dispatched to the governor of Durazzo twenty-four knights arrayed in golden armour, requesting, in no very humble terms, that magnificent preparations might be made for the arrival of the standard-bearer of the Pope.†

waged with schismatics and heretics, the papal standard was carried, and indeed in other wars, where the interference of the Pope was submitted to. By this means his name was respected, and his power extended.

* The exact terms of this letter cannot be known. Anna Comnena reports it as if Hugh had called himself king of kings. The letter was doubtless sufficiently arrogant without this expression, which it is not likely Hugh would use, as he was only the brother of the king of kings. Du Cange, in a note on the Alexiad, has collected several authorities, English and French, proving (what, by the by, no Frenchman of the old school ever doubted) that in the thirteenth century the king of France was accounted the greatest king in Christendom; and that the word *rex* was applied to him per excellentiam.

† Alexiad, p. 228.

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The politics of Constantinople, ever dependent on circumstances, not on principle, had changed since the days when the proud Grecian empire had first appeared as the suppliant of barbarian Europe. The Seljukian dynasty of Rhoum was falling into decay; the Greeks no longer dreaded the loss of the sacred city, and were accustomed to the disgrace of Tartarian savages ruling over Asia Minor. Alexius had been liberal to Godfrey, for even vice paid an homage of respect to the virtue of the duke of Lorraine.* But when he heard of the greatness of the European armament, and that his old enemy, Bohemond, prince of Tarentum, had assumed the cross, his cowardly temper made him suspicious of the fair professions of others, and his mind vacillated between the wish of destroying and the dread of offending his allies. The west had listened to his solicitations; Godfrey's troops had taken no hostile course, and no other forces were yet in the Greek empire. He had not stipulated for any limited number of soldiers, or declared that his dispositions to enmity or friendship would be regulated by the portion of assistance that might be afforded.† It

* Godfrey received the praises of the Princess Anna; but she thought that secular and not religious motives influenced the other princes.

† It was not the fact that Alexius asked for the aid of only

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would have been consonant with the grandeur of imperial rank, for Alexius to have answered the arrogance of Hugh by a dignified remonstrance to the princes of Europe. Of itself it was no ground for hostilities. But the emperor commanded his naval power in the Adriatic to prevent the Latin fleet from quitting the Italian shores; to capture those ships which should escape from the blockade, and to detain as prisoners such of the Croises as under any circumstances should arrive on the Grecian coast. The count of Vermandois was the subject of the last of these contingencies. His appearance was ill calculated to excite either respect or fear. A wintry storm had scattered his vessels; his own bark had been stranded near Durazzo, and instead of entering the town in the stately manner which was conformable with the splendour of his gorgeous precursors, he was led into the presence of the lieutenant of Alexius, as a suppliant for hospitality. He was received with the most honourable salutations, and entertained with magnificence. The governor affected lamentation for the loss of his ships, and courteously bade him hope for a reverse of fortune,

10,000 men. Voltaire and his followers might have found enough of crime in the conduct of the Crusaders with the Musulmans, without falsely charging upon the Latins the offence of breaking treaty with the Greeks.

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and the arrival of prosperous times. During his stay, Hugh felt not his captivity, for as few of his old companions had reached him, he expressed no desire to depart. But he was soon removed to Constantinople, and Alexius, by flattery and presents, so completely won his affections, that he obtained from him an acknowledgment of fidelity.*

Hugh arrives at Constantinople, and swears fealty to Alexius.

Godfrey heard with indignation that the emperor considered and treated as a captive the brother of the king of France. He dispatched an embassy, requiring the liberation of the count of Vermondois, and the reasons of his captivity. But Alexius persisted in his violation of the law of nations, and the duke of Lorraine took a just though severe mode of retaliation. He acted as if war had been declared, and permitted his soldiers to ravage the beautiful plains of Thrace. The distress of the provincials was soon reported at the imperial metropolis, and Alexius repented of his perfidy. He liberated two of the companions of Hugh,

War between Godfrey and Alexius.

* Alexiad, 228, 229. The imperial and royal families of Germany and France might, according to principles of feudal law, have claimed the fealty of most of the leaders of the crusade; and the facility with which the count of Vermandois and others took the oath of allegiance to Alexius, shews how easily the chain of feudal society in Europe was broken in its most important links.

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and sent them to Godfrey, with the news that on his arrival at the Grecian court he should find the count himself, and no longer a prisoner. Military rapine had continued for eight days in the Thracian fields, but Godfrey, on this intelligence, restored the army to its discipline, took the road for Constantinople, and arrived in the neighbourhood of the city two days before Christmas.* Hugh advanced to meet his friend, and scarcely had they exchanged congratulations, when a state messenger requested the duke to visit the palace with his chief officers, and leave his army without the walls. But at that moment, some Frenchmen came secretly to the camp, and warned their comrades of the insidiousness of the emperor. Godfrey and his council returned therefore a refusal to the royal solicitation; and the violent and imprudent Alexius prohibited his subjects from traffic with the Crusaders. This act of hostility was repelled in the same manner as the imprisonment of Hugh had been resented. On the recommendation of Baldwin and other chiefs, the soldiers were permitted to lay waste the vicinity of the city; and they soon collected provisions for the festival of the Nativity.† While the re-

Godfrey reaches Constantinople.

* Archb. of Tyre, 654. Baldric, 91.

† Albert, 200, 1.

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ligious ceremonies were in a course of celebration, the soldiers abstained from rapine, and on their conclusion, the emperor recalled his impolitic edict. But he only recalled it for the purpose of pursuing his object by other means. The season of the year was at variance with living in tents, and Alexius recommended to Godfrey that the army should cross the Bosphorus, and occupy as winter quarters the palaces and country summer-houses of the Byzantine nobility.* By this act of seeming friendship he conciliated the Croises, and relieved his people from the inconveniences of an immediate intercourse with them. He again entreated the duke of Lorraine to enter Constantinople; but blandishments were without effect; and Godfrey simply replied, that "he "would willingly show his respect for the em- "peror by appearing at his palace, but that he "was alarmed by tales which he had heard re- "garding his majesty;—and he did not know "whether they sprung from envy and hatred." General expressions of regard were returned to these remarks; but Godfrey was warned by his friends against Grecian artifice. Alexius resorted to a repetition of his former measures for procuring the unconditional submission of the army. The consequences of the prohibition of

* Archb. of Tyre, 654.

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traffic were, as usual, disastrous to the Greeks. Insidiousness and the attempt at starvation having failed, Alexius resorted to arms. One morning in the middle of January the Turcoples entered the camp of the Latins; and their arrows fell with direful effect. On this occasion, the first where the talents of a great general were necessary, the mind of the duke of Lorraine was present and active. He knew that if the Greeks could possess themselves of the bridge of the Blachernæ, his soldiers would be shut in between the Black Sea, the Bosphorus, and the Barbyses, and totally at their mercy. By his command, therefore, Baldwin with the cavalry advanced to the bridge. Both on his road and on his arrival at his post, he made the squadrons of Alexius tremble and retreat. When his purpose was apparent, all the imperial troops pressed from every quarter to the bridge; and the loss of lives was prodigious before the passage of the Latin infantry was secured.* Godfrey attacked in his turn. Though he had no machines wherewith he could batter the walls of Constantinople, yet the impetuous valour of his soldiers was dreadfully destructive. The Greeks from the towers shot arrows and hurled

A.D. 1097, January.

* Albert, 201, 202.

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darts; the coats of mail protected the Latin cavaliers; yet many of the unbarbed horses were killed. But a shaft from the bow of Nicephorus, the Grecian general, entered a vulnerable place of an European knight, who had been riding round the walls, insulting the Greeks for cowardice.* At this moment some battalions of heavily armed soldiers poured from the city. Their force and weight would have been irresistible; but the Franks avoided their attacks; and, therefore, the Greeks consumed their strength in vain endeavours to bring their enemies to action. Night and darkness parted the Croises and their inhospitable entertainers. The soldiers of Godfrey, before their passage of the bridge, had set fire to their quarters; and after the engagement, so fierce and destructive was their retaliation on their insidious foes, that Alexius was compelled, by the distresses of his people, to lay aside all thoughts of war. Still, however, clinging to the hope of gaining the feudal dependence, rather than the liberal friendship of the Latins, he desired the mediation of one of those who already acknowledged his authority. The brother of the French king did not disdain to become the advocate of the faithless Greek.

* Nicephorus was the husband of the princess Anna; and she praises him in truly classical terms. Alexiad, 233, 234.

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But Godfrey severely reproached the man who could leave France with a numerous army, richly equipped, and cast himself at the feet of a foreign prince. "And do you," he continued, "not only boast of your disgrace, but, "forgetting my dignity, do you ask me to "imitate your baseness?" But Hugh replied, that the oath of fidelity was an unavoidable consequence of their expedition: that the friendship of Alexius was essential to the well-being of the enterprize; for that, without his aid, the army would perish from hunger.* The representations of the count of Vermandois not only calmed the anger, but changed the opinion of the duke of Lorraine. He saw that a state of hostility with the emperor would eventually be more destructive to him than to the Greeks; that the people round Constantinople would be ruined; their ruin would be followed by that of the army; and the imperial treasures would be more easily gained by friendship than by war. Godfrey therefore resolved to make a sacred promise of fealty; and it was agreed that, on his entrance into the city, John, a son of the emperor, should be given as a hostage to the French. Before these resolves were acted upon, messengers from the prince of Tarentum reached the camp of the

After many alternations of peace and war, Godfrey, &c. do homage.

* Alexiad, 235.

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Latins. The Italian developed the perfidy of the emperor; and solicited his insulted companions to wait his arrival, when he would co-operate with them in taking vengeance on imperial duplicity. But nothing could break Godfrey's singleness of purpose. With consent of the other chiefs he answered the messengers of Bohemond, that he knew well the hatred which the Greeks bore against the Latins; but piety forbad him to turn his arms against a Christian people.*

The interviews between the messengers of Bohemond and Godfrey were reported to Alexius: and the emperor anxiously hastened the negotiation. His son was sent into the Latin camp as a hostage, and Godfrey with his friends entered Constantinople. They were dressed with all the magnificence of warriors of the age.† The whole splendour of the Byzantine court was arrayed, in order to overawe the strangers. They were received in the imperial palace with dignity, not with respect; as slaves, not as equals. Their salutations were met by

* Archb. of Tyre, 656, 657.

† The coat of arms, or mantle over the armour, was the splendid part of a warrior's dress. It was made of cloths of gold or silver, of rich skins, furs of ermine, sables, &c. Albert mentions Godfrey and his party as being clothed with vests made of ermine, vair, and other skins, adorned with gold, p. 203, and see the first dissertation of Du Cange on Joinville.

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Alexius with silence and unrelaxed features. Godfrey bent the knee before the throne, and kissed the knees or the feet of the emperor. Alexius then adopted him as his son; clothed him with imperial robes, and declared that he put the empire under the protection of his arms, with the hope that he would finally deliver it from the multitude of barbarians who infested it. The duke of Lorraine with joined hands not only recognized the adoption, but, like the count of Vermandois, swore fidelity to the emperor. He promised to deliver to him such Grecian places as he should recapture from the Turks, and to do homage for any other acquisitions. The oath was repeated by the other suppliant Franks; and Alexius, promised in return to aid the cause with the imperial troops, and his stores of arms and provisions. He would join his force to that of the Latins, and even conduct them in person.

Boldness of a Crusader.

Robert of Paris, one of the companions of Godfrey, disgusted at the hauteur of Alexius, quitted his place, and fiercely seated himself on the throne. Alexius, says his daughter, knew well the pride of the Latins, and dissembled his rage. Baldwin relieved the king from his embarrassment, and endeavoured to remove the bold intruder. "After you have professed "yourself," said he, "a servant of the em-

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" peror, do you dare to place yourself on the " same seat? It is contrary to decorum and " good manners; and if nothing else could " bind you, you should at least respect the " customs of the country in which you are " living." The Frenchman felt not the reproof, but observed, with composure, " A simple rustic " is the only one who dares to sit in the pre- " sence of him, before whom all are suppliant " or standing." The royal interpreter explained to the emperor the meaning of the barbarian. The honest dignity of the stranger palsied imperial pride; and Alexius, unable to reply to this presumption, could only ask him who he was, and whence he came. " I am a French- " man, and nobly born," he replied; " and this " too I know, there is a spot near my church, " where people assemble who wish to signalize " their skill in arms: and where, until an " enemy appears, they pray to God. I have " repeatedly waited there, and no person has " yet dared to accept my challenge." The remark of the emperor was bitterly ironical. " The times are past," said he, " for your search " of an enemy in vain. When you meet the " Turks, place not yourself in the van of the " army, but go into the centre; you will there be " safe from the darts of the foe."*

* Alexiad, 237, 238. This brave man was truly French,

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In consequence of the acknowledgment of this feudal relation, peace was restored between the Latins and the Greeks. On one side strictness of discipline was commanded; and on the other an imperial rescript permitted commercial and social intercourse between the different nations. The lord of Greece, too, gained the affections of the chief officers among the Franks by profuse and ostentatious presents; and once in every week he sent to Godfrey as much gold as two men could carry on their shoulders, and ten measures of copper coin.* All the vigilance of the duke of Lorraine could not preserve the inhabitants of Constantinople from military lawlessness. The spring of holy action was relaxed, and idleness fostered vice. The opinion of Alexius that the army could be better supported on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus than in the city, could neither be assented to nor denied by Godfrey; and he had no reasons to oppose to the imperial wish. Indeed, his judgment might second it: for he knew that the remainder of the military force of Europe would soon arrive; and that the union of so many myriads of Latins in Constantinople would produce disorder. He therefore passed

March 1097. Godfrey crosses the Hellespont.

i. e. of the isle of France; he lost the benefit of the lesson, for he was slain at the battle of Doryleum. Du Cange, note, p. 85.

* Alexiad, 235, 236. Albert, 203. Archb. of Tyre, 657.

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the Hellespont, and his troops encamped round Chalcedon.*

Joined by the count of Flanders.

Before the departure of Godfrey from Constantinople, he had been joined by Robert of Flanders, and many of the Belgic Crusaders. Neither the affectionate solicitations of his sister the duchess of Apulia, nor the repulsive turbulence of the season, had restrained his impatience. But the count of Vermandois had occupied most of the Apulian vessels; and the Flemish lord had not been able to sail before he heard of his catastrophe at Durazzo. The caution of Robert to avoid the Grecian fleet was not successful; and in the engagement which ensued, he was compelled to yield to the force of superior numbers. The Latins were honourably guarded to Constantinople, where they followed the example of the lords of Lorraine and France, by becoming the men of Alexius.†

* William of Tyre, and the rest, *ubi supra.* The early historians of the Crusades attribute this movement to the fear which Alexius entertained of the union of troops in the neighbourhood of Constantinople. But it should be remembered, that the distance between that city and Chalcedon was so short, that the Latins could form a junction whenever they pleased.

† The authors of L'Art de vérifier les Dates, vol. iii. p. 7, are wrong in stating that Robert of Flanders did not take the oath of fealty. See Albert, p. 204, and the Archbishop of Tyre, p. 660. The princess Anna mistook the count of

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Characters of the Princes of Tarentum and Tancred.

The Crusaders next in point of time were commanded by Bohemond and his relation Tancred.* The enemy of the Greeks had become, both by his brother's negligence and permission, a powerful lord in Italy. From his

Flanders for the count of Thoulouse. She has also got a story of a count Rodolph and fifteen thousand soldiers, that were checked by the Greeks in their march into Asia Minor. The general of Alexius proposed to transport them by sea to the holy land. She adds, "Such is the story of count Rodolph." It cannot be identified with any account of the Latin writers, and is most probably altogether fabulous. The only part of the tale worth noting, is the fear which she expresses of the danger to Alexius arising from a junction of Rodolph with the troops of Godfrey.

* The Italian reader will allow me to enter into the family history of one of the heroes of Tasso. I once thought that the relationship between Bohemond and Tancred was correctly stated by Ordericus Vitalis. Bohemond was the son of Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia. Tancred was the son of marquis Odo the Good. Matilda, a sister of Bohemond, married William de Grantmenil, a Norman lord, whose sister married the father of Tancred. Ord. Vit. p. 271, 677, 692, 717, 724, 757. Albert of Aix (p. 204) says, that Tancred was the son of a sister of Bohemond; and Guibert (p. 496) calls him the nephew of Bohemond. But the authority of Ralph of Caen, Tancred's biographer, is paramount. He says (c. i.) that the father of Tancred was marquis Odo, and that his mother was Emma, sister of Robert Guiscard. Hovedon (p. 710) erroneously makes Tancred the son of Robert Guiscard himself; and with equal ignorance, Knolles (Hist. of the Turks, p. 19) calls him the son of Roger, the brother of Bohemond. I may observe in this place, that Knolles' book, which Johnson has so strangely overrated, is at

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father's creation he was prince of Tarentum.* His qualities were those which belong to a piratical people. He was rapacious rather than ambitious: with him craft was wisdom; and, incapable of a grand and dignified course of action, he pursued, and generally with success, the intricate wiles of policy, and the labyrinths of ambuscade and finesse. He knew not the dignity of virtue, and could at pleasure assume every character. He had neither religion nor probity; yet he was, in the eyes of the credulous, one of the most devoted and disinterested soldiers of Christ. The character of Tancred shines with a pure and brilliant lustre. His ambition was rendered virtue by a generous spirit; by a love of martial achievements, and detestation of stratagem. Like his mother's countrymen, he was bold and enterprising; but he had not the Norman vices of treachery and dissimulation. Modesty softened his high-mindedness; and he would have been courteous and humane to all mankind, if the superstition of his age had not taught him that the Saracens

frequent and important variance with the original historians. Such parts of it as relate to the Crusades appear to be a compilation from some well meaning, though injudicious writers, who, observing that the crimes of Christians impeded the progress of Christianity, have softened and extenuated the conduct of the Crusaders.

* L'Art de vérifier les Dates, vol. iii. p. 808.

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were the enemies of God, and that the Christians were the ministers of heavenly wrath.*

In the sojourn which the count of Vermandois made in southern Italy, the spirit of crusading spread among the Italians. Bohemond was occupied in quelling a rebellion at Amalfi. The fanaticism of the French was soon communicated to his soldiery, and the friend of

* Even the princess Anna, generally sparing of commendation of the Latins, praised the martial and intellectual qualities of Tancred. Alexiad, 277. Tasso, who so well knew the way to dress truth with the ornaments of fiction, beautifully describes the young Italian:—

Vien poi Tancredi; e non è alcun fra tanti
(Tranne Rinaldo) o feritor maggiore,
O più bel di maniere e di sembianti,
O più eccelso ed entrepido di core.
S' alcun' ombra di colpa i suoi gran vanti
Rende men chiari, è sol follia d' amore:
Nato fra l' arme amor di breve vista,
Che si nutre d' affanni, e forza acquista.

La Gerusalemme Liberata, canto i. 45.

Mr. Wiffen has done ample justice to the poetry of Tasso:

Then Tancred follows to the war, than whom
Save young Rinaldo, is no nobler knight;
Oh, beautiful in action, fair in bloom,
Excelling spirit, absolute in fight!
If any shade of error makes less bright
His rare accomplishments and manly charms,
It is the foil of love, love at first sight,
Born of surprise, amidst the shock of arms,
Which feeds on its own griefs, and grows with its alarms.

Wiffen's Tasso, vol. i. p. 23.

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Urban smiled at the success of his counsels. The holy theme was adopted by the marauder, his specious eloquence produced the same effects as those which the sincerity of other preachers had occasioned, and the war-shout of the council of Clermont resounded through the lines. The soldiers bent their bows, couched their lances, and uttered a loud but vain cry of defiance of the Turks. While their enthusiasm was at its height, and their intreaties were urgent for a march to the holy land, Bohemond declared his willingness to accompany them in so august an undertaking, and tearing his magnificent robe into pieces in the form of crosses, he distributed the fragments among his followers. Amalfi was forgotten in Jerusalem; fanaticism swept away all considerations of politics, and in the grand effort for the redemption of the sepulchre, Italy might hope to benefit from the absence of her Norman scourges.*

March of the Italians to Constantinople.

The prince of Tarentum increased by every means the religious fervour, and he soon found himself at the head of ten thousand horsemen, and an infinite number of foot soldiers and foot attendants. Many distinguished Normans and

* Tudebodus, 779. Guibert, 485, 486. Giannone, Istoria di Napoli, lib. x. c. 7.

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Italians joined his standard, and while the command was participated by his cousin Tancred,* his relations, the princes of Salernum, had an important place in the council. They sailed from the shores of Apulia about the end of November, soon after Hugh and Robert, and landed near Durazzo. They marched through Epirus, and the soldiers of the Greek emperor, stationed in the provinces, made Bohemond solicitous to preserve discipline. He exhorted his people to just dealings, moderation, and good-will towards the people, to whom in truth they came to render assistance. But as they advanced, their money became exhausted, and they plundered when they could not purchase. The Greeks were schismatics, but they were the allies of the Italians, and the miserable superstition of the day was at variance with moral principle, whether plunder was lawful. In Pelagonia, however, there was a castle full of heretics, to whom the Crusaders were not attached by any ties of political union. The soldiers of Bohemond pillaged and set fire to it, and then continued their religious journey with consciences void of offence.† Their

November 1096.

* Tancred was in Bohemond's army, quasi dux sub rege, et secundus ab eo militavit.

† Robert, 36. Tudebodus, 779. Mus. Ital. i. 145. Baldric, 92. Guibert, 488. Archb. of Tyre, 658, &c. This last

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march was watched by the imperial troops, and their passage of the Vardar would have been fatal to many of the army, if Tancred had not gallantly repulsed the enemy. Bohemond severely reproached the prisoners, for having dared to attack the soldiers of the cross. They replied, that, "the orders of the emperor were "of the highest obligation upon them, and "they would commit an offence against God "in violating his commands. The armies of "the Crusaders were dreaded by their master "like the thunders of heaven, for he knew that "ambition, and not religion, was their motive; "that they preferred Constantinople to Jeru- "salem. If Bohemond and his followers were "really servants of God, they would imitate "his attribute of pity."* The crafty Italian gave them freedom; and when his less prudent friends expressed their surprise, he reminded them of the impolicy of provoking the emperor while they were in his territories. "The

writer had pity on the poor Jews in Cologne, but he drops not a tear of sorrow for the Pelagonian heretics. In regione uberrima cui nomen est Pelagonia, castrametati sunt. Ubi audientes quod in vicino erat municipium solis hæreticis habitatoribus refertum, illuc sub omni celeritate contendunt, et castrum violenter occupantes, succensis ædificiis, oppidanus quoque partim gladio, partim consumptis incendio, prædam universam, et opima inde retulerunt spolia. Willermi, Tyrensis Archiep. lib. ii. c. 13.

* Robert, 37.

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"passions ought to be curbed till they can be "exerted with effect. If possible, the favour "of Alexius must be obtained, or, at all events, "our wrongs should be dissimulated till a "proper season."* Bohemond sent messengers to Constantinople, with remonstrances against the injustice of the Greeks. Alexius disavowed the actions of his soldiers, and though he inwardly feared and detested Bohemond, he expressed the most lively joy at his approach, and promised him more honours and treasures than those which he had conferred on the other Latin princes. Without some appearance of confidence hostilities would have been renewed, and therefore Bohemond left the army under Tancred at Rossa, and went with a band of cavaliers to the imperial city. He was met by the duke of Lorraine, whom Alexius had solicited to entreat the prince of Tarentum to take the oath of fealty. The two heroes embraced, conversed upon the holy undertaking, and religion appeared to be the sole motive of Bohemond.

Means of Alexius to gain the homage of Bohemond.

The meeting between the emperor and the prince was a finished piece of hypocrisy. The reciprocation of courtesy was not apparently embittered by painful recollections; but as no

* Baldric, 92.

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mention of past events might have given rise to suspicion, Alexius recalled the battles of Durazzo and Larissa, and commending the valour of the prince of Tarentum, expressed his joy that amicable dispositions had succeeded those scenes of war. Bohemond, in his turn, confessed the injustice of his former hostility, and avowed that he was, and ever would continue friendly to so august an emperor. Alexius entertained him in the royal residence, and then removed him to one of still greater magnificence. Judging from his own breast of the impossibility of healing the wounds of hatred, Bohemond continued watchful of the court; and when a splendid banquet was placed before him, he passed the viands untouched to his companions at the table. The next morning he concealed not his astonishment that their health was uninjured, for he thought that the emperor could not let pass so favourable an occasion of attempting to poison an ancient enemy. Just considerations of policy, or the necessity of circumstances, had induced Godfrey and Hugh to take the oath of fealty. Neither national honour nor religion swayed the mind of Bohemond, but he could coolly view every transaction with reference to its effects upon his own selfish interest. His ambition and avarice were well known to

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Alexius, and these passions were to be satisfied as the purchase for the obligation of allegiance. The emperor promised him, therefore, the lordship over districts between Constantinople and Antioch, fifteen days' march in length, and eight in breadth. The imperial officers displayed to him the most magnificent chambers of the palace; his cupidity was roused at the sight of the never-ending piles of money and jewels, and he could not avoid exclaiming, that, if he were master of those riches, they would lead him to the conquest of cities and kingdoms. "They are thine," cried the servant of the emperor, "his majesty gives to you all "that you have seen to-day." Soothed by flattery, and blinded by avarice, Bohemond allowed the treasures to be conveyed to his chambers; and though he dropped some expressions indicative of his penetration into the purposes of Alexius, yet his favourite passion finally overcame his sense of dignity.* Revelling in imperial pomp, he aspired to the empire itself, in the office of great domestic of the east, or commander of the Grecian soldiers in Asia. Alexius dissembled his pride, which was wounded deeply at the audacious pride of a foreigner, and resorted to the common

* Guibert, 491. Archb. of Tyre, 659. Baldric, 92. Alexiad, 238, 240.

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political artifice of the opposition of circumstances to the gratification of a desire. "As "soon, however," he continued, "as your "military abilities shall receive the applause of "the Greeks, the highest dignity of the empire "shall be yours. I shall then appear to be "acting in harmony with the general con- "fession of your merit, and not indulging my "own private partiality and friendship."* He wore the semblance of esteem for Bohemond, though the conduct of his martial compeer Tancred justly excited surprise. The army of Italians had been led by that gallant general from Rossa to Constantinople, and when the alternative was plunder or starvation, he permitted his wretched followers to live upon the miserable and heretical provincials. Arrived at the Bosphorus, he and one of the princes of Salernum disguised themselves in the garb of common soldiers, and crossed the strait almost unnoticed. By this measure Tancred escaped the disgrace of acknowledging a foreign prince to be his liege lord. The noble qualities of the young cavalier were unknown to Alexius, who attributed this preservation of independence, not to a generous loftiness of spirit, but to hostile intentions.

Tancred passes into Asia without swearing fealty

* Alexiad, 241.

† Baldric, 94. Albert, 204. Rad. Cad. 289, 290. The

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Character of Raymond count of Tholouse.

The next array of mighty men at arms that joined the assembled troops of Godfrey, Hugh, Tancred, Bohemond, and Robert of Flanders, was commanded by Raymond, duke of Narbonne, and count of Provence, Tholouse, and Rovergue.* His coldness of temper and dignity of manner, gave to vulgar minds ideas of wisdom and greatness: but he was selfish and avaricious; his pride made him susceptible and retentive of injuries, though it generally restrained him from immoral ways of revenge. Lord of most of the south of France, he yet sighed for kingdoms in the east, and was inexorable in his hatred of the Muselmans, for his proud soul was deeply stained with the intolerant spirit of the day, and he had often felt the power of his neighbours, the Spanish Saracens. The holy cause was embraced by William, the fifth lord of Montpellier, Raynouard,

biographer of Tancred says, that Alexius made Bohemond swear for his relative.

* The count of St. Ægidius corrupted by the French into St. Giles, and by Anna Comnena into Sangeles, was his earliest title. St. Ægidius was a part of Nismes. He was also called count of Tholouse and Rovergue, and duke of Narbonne. The title of count of Provence or Arles has likewise been given to Raymond. The history of the means by which he became so great a prince is very dark and confused. Du Cange on the Alexiad, p. 82. L'Art de vérifier les Dates, ii, 202, 289, 294, 435.

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viscount of Turenne, and a numerous troop of knights and barons of southern France and northern Spain. The count of Orange descended from his beautiful seat near Avignon, and joined his banner to that of the count of Tholouse. The list of ecclesiastics presented the important names of the archbishop of Toledo, and the bishops of Puy and Orange.* Though more than three centuries had elapsed since the rise of Gascony from the Saracenian yoke, yet the Moslem cruelties were fresh in the minds of the French; and, as much from motives of revenge as of religion, the people from the mouth of the Garonne to that of the Var, the eastern boundary of Provence, assumed the cross. Their route was different

Course of the Provençals into Greece.

* Archb. of Tyre, 660. L'Art de vérifier les Dates, ii. 259, 322, 400.

Poi duo pastor di popoli spiegaro
Le squadre lor, Guglielmo ed Ademaro.
* * * *
L' uno e l' altro di lor, che ne' divini
Ufici già trattò pio ministero,
Sotto l' elmo primendo i lunghi crini,
Esercita dell' arme or l' uso fero:
Della città d' Orange, e dai confini
Quattrocento guerrier scelse il primiero.
Ma guida quei di Poggio in guerra l' altro,
Numero egual, nè men nell arme scaltro.
La Gerusalemme Liberata, canto i. 38, 39.

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from that of the other Crusaders, for they passed through Lombardy into Dalmatia. Forty days were occupied in the march from the Forum Julii to the confines of Epirus; and those were days of fatigue and privation. Ignorant of the regular passes over the mountains, the pilgrims followed their own erring conjectures, and were almost lost in the marshes, through their foggy atmosphere and continual darkness.* In those parts of the country, where man had but little improved the bounties of nature, scanty provisions only could be expected for one hundred thousand soldiers. Such swarms alarmed the peasantry, who retired into the mountains, and then having placed their flocks and herds in safety, made irregular but dreadful attacks upon their invaders. The skill of the count of Tholouse was severely tried in saving the women and priests, and other attendants of the camp. As objects of terror to the enemy, he maimed and disfigured his prisoners; and this exercise of cruelty was seasonable and effective. When they arrived at Scodra, the residence of the king of Dalmatia, the royal name and attentions procured for them provisions and tranquillity till their entrance into the Grecian

* ——Tenebræ continuæ, pene palpabiles.
Archb. of Tyre, 660.

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states.* They pursued their course to Constantinople with the protection of the imperial officers. On every station the governors of the provinces received them with respect, and the letters of Alexius breathed nothing but the language of peace and affection. Yet in every day's march, many of the army were slain. Parties of Grecian troops harassed them on all sides, and on one occasion the bishop of Puy would have fallen a sacrifice to their rapacity, had it not been for the sudden interposition of some of Raymond's soldiers. At Rossa they inflicted signal vengeance on the Greeks;† they satiated themselves with plunder, and then advanced to Rhodosto, where a deputation from Alexius pressed the count to hasten to Constantinople. Godfrey and the other chiefs joined in this solicitation, and therefore Raymond left the command to Adhemar, and returned with the legates.‡

The count of Tholouse boldly and frankly declined to become a feudal dependant on the Grecian empire. He avowed that he had not quitted his native country in order to acknowledge any new master, or to fight for any one

* Archb. of Tyre, 661.

† It is remarkable, that when the Crusaders assaulted Rossa, their war-cry was "Tholouse," and not Dieux el volt.

‡ Raymond, 140.

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but his lord and Saviour. If, however, the Emperor would march to Jerusalem, he would willingly place himself and his forces under his command.* Alexius had good reason to dread so proud and formidable a chieftain, and therefore gave secret orders to his lieutenants to destroy the army. In the silence and darkness of the night, when the Crusaders were reposing in confidence of promised friendship, the Greeks rushed into their camp. The carnage was dreadful, till rage succeeded panic, and the ranks of the Provençals were formed. The tide of conquest was changed; the imperial soldiers were completely repulsed, and their stores were plundered. But as the Croises continued their march, disaffection appeared. Victories had reduced their numbers; they were attenuated by fatigue; and, in their distress, they began to question the prudence of the enterprize. The contagion of cowardice spread to the highest lords; and but for the animating counsels of the bishops and clergy, the army would have been dissolved, and the dark and malignant politics of Alexius would have succeeded.† In the fury of his indignation at the conduct of the imperial officers, the revenge of Raymond could alone be satisfied by making war upon the Greeks.‡ But

* Raymond, 141. † Archb. of Tyre, 661, 662.

‡ The Bishop of Puy had nothing to do with the matter:

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the duke of Lorraine and other chiefs shewed the imprudence of attacking the Christians while the Turkish power was unbroken. Bohemond too professed himself to be the friend of Alexius, and threatened Raymond with destruction, if he longer persisted in his enmity.* But neither threats nor advice could make the haughty Provençal kneel and perform homage; and he only swore that he would do nothing against the honour and life of the emperor.† Alexius, wishing some counterpoise to Bohemond, and admiring the pride and power of the count of Tholouse, received Raymond to his confidence, and avowed his fears of the prince of Tarentum. The censure of the Italian was grateful to the ears of his ambitious compeer; and Raymond did not relieve the fears of his imperial friend, by assuring him that perjury

Takes a qualified oath of fealty.

and yet Voltaire coolly says, "L'évêque de Puy voulait absolu- "ment qu'on commençât les entreprises contre les infidèles par "le siège de la ville où résidoit le premier prince des chrétiens." Essai sur les Mœurs des Nations, ch. 54.

* Raymond, 141. Tudebodus, 781.

† Raymond and Tudebodus, ubi sup. Rob. 38. Ord. Vit. 728. Guibert, 490. Some historians incorrectly say that the count of Tholouse took the oath of allegiance in its fullest extent. The Princess Anne is loud in her praises of the moral and intellectual graces of the count; and, in her hyperbolical language, he shone among the Latins as the sun shines amongst the stars.

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and craft were the hereditary vices of Bohemond; and that therefore no trust was to be placed in his vows.*

The soldiers of Provence reached Constantinople, and crossed the straits into Asia: and with Godfrey, Bohemond, and Robert of Flanders, took the road to Nice.† Peter the Hermit, and the remnants of his miserable swarms of savages, joined them, and received a share of the camp provisions. The hosts of Christendom were soon afterwards strengthened by the more important junction of the duke of Normandy, the count of Chartres, the earl of Boulogne, and their squadrons, who, in their journey from Italy to Asia Minor, had suffered equal distresses with their precursors; and who, on their arrival at Constantinople, had made the usual sacrifice to imperial pride and suspicion.‡

Arrival of Curthose and others.

* Alexiad, 241.

† The Provençals, however, soon allowed the other Crusaders to pass them, for Raymond remained for some time at Constantinople with Alexius.

‡ Robert, 39. Albert, 204. Gesta, 562. Archb. of Tyre, 664. I shall transcribe the remarks of the chaplain of the count of Chartres on the magnificence of Constantinople, as expressive of the admiration and astonishment which all the western barbarians felt. "O quanta civitas nobilis et decora! quot monasteria, "quotque palatia sunt in ea, opere miro fabrefacta! quot etiam "in plateis vel in vicis opera, ad spectandum mirabilia. Tædium

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"est quidem magnum recitare quanta sit ibi opulentia bonorum "omnium, auri et argenti, palliorum multiformium, sanctorum- "que reliquiarum." Fulcher, 386. The count of Chartres was imposed upon by Grecian artifice, and believed that Alexius preferred him to all the other Crusaders. The emperor had skill enough to make every man with whom he conversed think himself the greatest favourite. His majesty expressed a wish that one of the sons of Stephen might be educated at the Byzantine court, and said a thousand other fine things, which Stephen reported to his wife as holy truths. See his epistle in Mabillon, Mus. Ital. vol. i. p. 237.

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CHAP. IV.

THE MARCH OF THE CRUSADERS THROUGH ASIA MINOR.

Review of the Latin troops before Nice—Siege and capture of Nice—Treachery of Alexius—Manners of the Christian Camp—Interview between Alexius and the Chiefs—Commencement of the march through Asia Minor—Battle of Doryleum—Victory of the Christians—Distressing march through Phrygia—Expedition of Tancred and Baldwin into Cilicia—Injustice of Baldwin—War between Baldwin and Tancred—Distresses of the main Army in its passage though Lycaonia—Foundation of the Latin state of Edessa—Arrival of the Latins before Antioch.

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May 1097. Review of the Crusaders, &c. beforeNice.

THE Crusaders overspread the plains of Nice,* and if early writers can be credited, seven hundred thousand was the number of soldiers and of pilgrims.† It is impossible to

* There the wild Crusaders form,
There assembled Europe stands ;
Heaven they deem awakes the storm,
Hell the paynims' blood demands.
Carlyle's Poems, p. 84.

† This is the number as fixed by the Archbishop of Tyre, p. 664. Fulcher (p. 387) says, that there were 600,000 people

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describe with perfect precision the nature of the military array; but we can discern that there were one hundred thousand horsemen clad in mail.* Agreeably to the customs of chivalry, such of these warriors as were knights were attended by their squires,† who carried their lances, their golden and ornamented shields,‡ and led the fiery steeds§ on which the cavaliers rode during the battle. Nor was the equipment complete, unless each equestrian soldier was accompanied and supported by ‖ some men at

fit for war, and a great number of priests, women and children. Guibert, p. 491, mentions 100,000 equites loricati. These words must mean, in the instance before us, the general force of the crusading cavalry: and we are prevented from adding to it the men at arms, because the archbishop of Tyre, in another place (p. 693), says, that the horses with which the Crusaders commenced the siege of Antioch numbered only 70,000. The reader observes that the numerical statements of Fulcher and the archbishop far exceed the result of the various forces described in the last chapter.

* For remarks on the armour of the knights, see note E, Appendix.

† The duties of the squire are described in Note F, Appendix.

‡ Albert, p. 212, 241. Thus the soldiers of the lower empire were distinguished by the digmata or devices of their companies, and by their own names expressed on their shields. Vegetius de re militari, lib. ii. c. 18.

§ See Appendix, note G.

‖ The number of men at arms and archers, which constituted the complete equipment of a lance, varied in different times

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arms and infantry, who bore the standard,* and were accoutred lighter than their chief.† The offensive weapons of the cavalry were iron maces, lances, and swords. The bow‡ was the principal weapon of the foot soldiers, who, agreeably to the tactics of the day, formed the first line of the army, and discharged flights of shafts and quarrels until the heavily armed troops engaged.

The formidable force of the Crusaders was not broken by petty conflicts; but its first efforts were urged against the very capital of the Seljukian kingdom of Rhoum. Nice was situated on a fertile plain, and owed its strength more to art than to nature. It was defended

and countries. It was seldom less than three, or perhaps more than six.

* On the subject of the standards, banners, &c. of the Crusaders, see Appendix, note H.

† There were also many soldiers in the first Crusade who were not knights, or their attendants, and yet who fought on horseback. Fulcher, lib. ii. chap. 31.

‡ The cross bow, as well as the long bow, was in use. The former was of immemorial antiquity among the Latins, and was introduced by them into Greece. It was not much used during the Crusades, for the spirit of chivalry opposed a weapon which in the exercise required no skill: it was held in the same contempt as poisoned arrows were; and both were condemned by the 29th canon of the second Lateran council, A.D. 1139. See Du Cange's note on the Alexiad, p. 85.

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by double walls of an immense thickness; and the attacking enemy were to be repulsed from more than three hundred and fifty towers, which stood at frequent intervals. The city commanded the lake Ascanius, and consequently it enjoyed communication with the Turks on the north-western shores of Bithynia.*

Siege and capture of Nice. A.D. 1097. 8th May—24th June.

The Latin princes were struck with astonishment at the height and solidity of the walls, and some of the soldiers approached them with the intention of an assault. But the poisoned arrows which were shot from the battlements made them repent of their temerity, and it was resolved that a formal siege should be commenced.† The different generals followed their own principles of hostility, and perhaps attacked those parts of the fortifications which were opposite to their respective posts. Hugh, the two Roberts, and Stephen of Chartres, applied their engines of war against the east. On that side also Raymond and Adhemar encamped their battalions when they reached the scene of hostility. Godfrey was on the north, and Bohemond was on the south.‡ The Crusaders were sufficiently numerous to assault the whole of the walls; they erected wooden

* Robert, 40. Archb. of Tyre, 666. † Albert, 204, 205.
‡ Robert, 39.

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towers,* and having impelled them against the stone towers of the city, the engagements between the Christians and Muselmans were hand to hand. Kilidge Arslan, the Seljukian Sultan of Rhoum, with fifty thousand experienced troops, had stationed himself in the mountains which overhung the plains of his capital. On intelligence of the fruitless assault which the enemy had lately made, he resolved upon an immediate irruption into their camp, assisted by a sortie from the city. But his messengers were intercepted, and the threat of the punishment of death drew from them the secret. Raymond and Adhemar were apprized of the meditated irruption, and by forced marches arrived at their quarters on the east. On these places Soliman poured his squadrons; he knew not that his plans had been revealed, or of the consequent reinforcement of the Christian army. If he had made repeated attacks upon the exhausted Provençals, he must have defeated them: but he quickly extended his hostility to the positions of Godfrey and the

* These were the belfrois or beffreys so often used in the middle ages. Their summit, and other parts or stories of them, were occupied by armed men. They were usually moved on four wheels, and, to prevent injury from the Greek fire, they were covered with boiled horse or bullocks' skins.

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French princes. The Moslems were on every spot received with firmness, and not being seconded by the garrison, they retreated with precipitation into the mountains. The courage of the Turks is impetuous, though not firm: and their retreats (as Urban had assured the people at Clermont) are not always the sign of discomfiture. The next morning they renewed their attacks, and the Nissians, understanding their intentions, made the expected sortie. The Latins however were numerous, their courage was fresh, and after an engagement, which was continued at intervals through the whole day, Kilidge Arslan was compelled to retire, and to leave Nice to its fate.* He expected to have found the Latins as feeble as the Greeks, or as disorderly as the rabble of Peter; but he confessed that their courage was like that of lions, and that a thousand of their cavalry would fearlessly charge twenty thousand Turks. He was surprised at the splendid military appearance of his enemies, their coats of mail, their ornamented and painted shields, their helmets shining in the sun, and their long ashen lances in their

* Gesta, 5. Albert, 205-6. Archbishop of Tyre, 667. Alexiad, 245.

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hands.* The Christians were merciful to the messengers, finding that their statements had tallied with events, but they cut off the heads of the dead and wounded Turks; some they cast over the walls into the city, and others they sent as a present to the emperor. The gratitude of Alexius for the barbarous trophies was shewn by the return of plentiful supplies of provisions and necessaries for the camp, and the generals, in the fulness of their rejoicing, renewed their promises of fidelity.† The siege was recommenced with renewed courage. A sepulchre of the dead was converted into a resting place of

* Albert, 241. These expressions relate to the Latins in general, and not, as Du Cange states, to the French alone. The Greek writers, Nicetas, Cinnamus, and Anna, praise the Latins for the dexterous use of the lance. It is certain, however, that at the time of the crusades no nation was more military than the French. They cultivated the art of war, for they thought it was imprudent to engage in battle before they had learned at least the rudiments of the dreadful subject. Tournaments were first used in France long antecedent to the crusades. Matthew Paris calls these representations of war, conflictus Gallici. Ralph of Coggeshall tells us of a man who died in a mock fight, more Gallicorum. Tournaments were introduced into England in the reign of Stephen: they fell into disuse, but were revived with great splendour in the time of Richard the First. M. Paris ad ann. 1179 et 1194. William of Newbridge, l. v. c. iv. Bromton, 1261.

† Albert, 207. Alexiad, 246.

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the living. The hill of bones was fortified by the Christians, and made a tower of hostility.* The count Herman and Henry of Ascha, endeavoured to batter down a tower by the machine called a Fox, but its imperfect construction rendered the attempt abortive, and twenty men were buried in the ruins. The commanders alone escaped.† Adhemar and Raymond assaulted a tower, apparently of ruined foundations. It had been severely injured in a former war, and from the projection of its lower part it was called "Gonatos," or the inclination of a bent knee.‡ For two days Raymond was constant in his attacks with two mangonels, which hurled stones of an enormous size against the walls; neither did he neglect to mine them under the cover of the Chats-chateils. But the tower did not fall, and if a breach were ever

* Alexiad, 227.

† Albert, 208. The cunning of the invention, and not the shape of the machine, gave it the name of Fox. The Foxes were probably of the same class of engines as the Cats. The Cats were in the form of a covered gallery, fastened to the walls to afford shelter to the sappers. They were also made use of to fill up the ditches, in order that the beffrois (of which we have already spoken) might be brought near the walls. When those galleries were defended by towers, they were called Chats-chateils, *i. e.* cati castellati. Du Cange on Joinville.

‡ Alexiad, 246.

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made, it was immediately repaired. The machines were at last destroyed by the stones and combustible materials of the Turks.* The carnage was great on both sides, and the Nissians dragged up with iron hooks numberless dead bodies of their foes, to mangle them in savage mockery, or to cast them down again when stripped of their raiment.† So long as the lake Ascanius was in Turkish subjection, the losses of the garrison could be repaired. At the solicitation, therefore, of the Latins,‡ Alexius sent a large number of vessels in frame from Civitot to the Christian camp. They soon were launched, and were filled by Butumite and the Turcoples, who were in imperial pay. For a moment the Nissians though that it was succour from their Sultan, but the Grecian standards, the shouts of the men, and the clangour of the

* Albert, 208. Archb. of Tyre, 668, 670. Alexiad, 246.

† Malmsbury, 429.

‡ Though Alexius aided his allies on this occasion, yet he shewed a perpetual jealousy of their increasing numbers. About this time Daimbert, archbishop of Pisa, and a large body of Italians, arrived at Nice, and put themselves under the command of Godfrey. In their passage they had halted at Constantinople ; and Alexius had done every thing in his power to detain them, or to send them back. Tronchi, Memorie della citta di Pisa, p. 34. Livorno, 1682. Vitæ Rom. Pont. in Muratori Rerum Script. Ital. vol. iii. pars. I. p. 400.

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lofty instruments of war, soon changed their curiosity and joy into despair.* The Crusaders, now elate with hope, urged their assaults with increased courage. But a skilful Lombard did more towards the taking of the dreaded Gonatas than the rest of the army. Under the cover of a Chat-chateil, he and his associates loosened without pulling down the foundations of the tower, and supported the tottering fabric with logs of wood. The cavities were then filled with combustible matter, and the soldiers retired. In an hour of darkness the mass was ignited, the wooden supporters were scattered in the air, and the pile of stones fell with an alarming noise.† If the Latins had at that moment crossed the breach, Nice must have surrendered at discretion; but they delayed their assault, and when the morning appeared, they found that the active garrison had raised a new series of fortifications behind the ruins of the fallen bulwark. In the moment of terror the wife and sister of the Sultan had left the city, and attempted to escape by the lake. But they repented their want of brave endurance of dangers, for they were taken by the Greeks and Turcoples, who were sailing on every part.‡

While the franks were preparing to storm

* Gesta, 6. † Archb. of Tyre, 671. ‡ Ibid.

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Treachery of Alexius.

anew the repaired breaches in the walls, victory was snatched from their grasp by their friend and ally. At the commencement of the siege, the emperor joined to their forces two thousand men, under the command of Taticius, a man, who, from the disgrace of slavery, had been advanced to the honour of governing the Turks on the Varder.* The reasons which Alexius urged for not joining the Crusaders in person were trivial and absurd. He said that his army was, at its fullest extent, much inferior to that of his allies; that it would injure his dignity to appear in their camp; and that he dreaded the levity and inconstancy of the Latins.† He therefore crossed the Bosphorus, and stationed himself near Pelicanum. Suspicious of the tenacity of the Croises to their engagements, he had secretly commissioned Butamite, one of his most skilful envoys, to offer the Turks more favourable conditions of peace than could be expected from an enemy, who would enter the city sword in hand.‡ The bustle of defence

* Alexiad, 88. Albert, 205.

† Alexiad, 247. The versatility of opinion, and suppleness of manners of the Latins, are mentioned by Anna Comnena, as parts of the character of the western nations, and so strongly fixed in them, as to be inseparable appendages of their nature. Alexiad, p. 224.

‡ Alexiad, 241, 242, 245.

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and the hope of success, sometimes suspended the negotiation; but when the Sultana fell into the hands of the Greeks, and Butamite offered not only immunity and security to the besieged, but freedom and honour to the wife of Kilidge Arslan,* the Turks admitted him into the city, accepted his terms, and the crafty negotiator wrote to Taticius that their policy had succeeded. On the next morning the signal for attack was given, and the Franks rushed to the breaches. But the imperial trumpets were sounded, the banners of Alexius were hung over the walls, and Butamite proclaimed that the city was his master's.† The pride of the noble-minded men among the Crusaders was wounded at this artifice of their ally, but the common soldiers, disappointed in not sacking the town, were loud in their clamours against Alexius. The emperor had promised the leaders and people all the gold and silver and property in every captured city; and that in Nice he would build a Latin monastery, and also an hospital for the poor pilgrims. Alexius was bountiful in his presents to all classes of the Crusaders; and the generals, thinking of

* Alexiad, 248. William of Tyre, 671.

† Ibid. 248.

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greater objects, dissembled their disgust, and endeavoured by fair persuasions to stifle the anger of their troops.* Humanity rejoices that his selfishness preserved the city from becoming a scene of blood and rapine, but the policy was timid and ridiculous which would not permit any of the Crusaders to reside in Nice. Some people wished to dwell among the numerous religious antiquities of the place, but he would only suffer the Latins to enter the city by decades, and take a brief and hasty glance of the objects of veneration.†

Manners of the Christian camp.

Seven weeks were consumed in the siege of the capital of Bithynia, and the number of the Christians that died, or, in the language of the

* Raymond, 142. Archb. of Tyre, 672. Baldric, 97. Guibert, 493.

† Alexiad, 250. In the fourth century Nice was the arena of theological polemics. In the eleventh century Christians and infidels fought in the same theatre. What is the state of this city in the present day? "It is not possible to form an "idea of a more complete scene of desolation than Nice now "exhibits; streets without a passenger, houses without an inha- "bitant, and ruins of every age, fill the precincts of this once "celebrated city. The walls are still pretty entire; they em- "brace a circuit of nearly three miles; but the spot enclosed by "them is mostly taken up with gardens and mulberry grounds: "there are not more than four hundred houses standing within "the whole circumference, and out of these, only one hundred "and fifty are tenanted." Carlyle's Poems, &c. p. 14. London, 1805.

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times, received martyrdom,* was considerable. The morals of the Croises were of less questionable merit than the cause for which they were in arms. The camp presented the rare and edifying spectacle of a chaste and sober soldiery:† and although not free from the common disposition of exalting past ages at the expense of the present, the confession was drawn from the severest censors, that there was far more virtue among the crusading warriors, than among the hosts of Israel in old time. The simplicity and purity of the early church were revived. So affectionate was the union between the brotherhood, that all things were held in common. The generals not only commanded and fought, but watched, and did the most humble duties of the camp: so that the officer and the soldier were scarcely to be distinguished. Artificial discipline was needless, when virtue pervaded every part of manners.

* Martyrdom was the undoubted enjoyment of the fallen Crusaders. Processions, called the Black Crosses, were usual in France, in commemoration of the great multitude who died, as it were, crucified, in the expeditions of these holy pilgrimages. Du Cange, Glossary, article Cruces nigræ.

† Ibi cum hominibus mulieres habitabant, sed vel in conjugio vel in legali ministerio—are the words of the good archbishop Baldric, p. 95.

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Interview between Alexius and the chiefs.

There were some chiefs among the Crusaders who had not sworn fealty to Alexius; and the presence of all the great men was solicited at Pelicanum, in order to take a farewell of the emperor, and to receive from him new marks of his bounty. At the mention of riches, says the Grecian historian, the cupidity of Bohemond was fired, and he persuaded the rest to visit their new liege lord. Alexius treated him with magnificence and courtesy; and when he observed that they were pleased with his condescension, he gently alleged, that as he had given them a promise of protection, and sanctioned it by an invocation to heaven, they should not refuse to take the oath of fidelity. No one declined, except Tancred, who declared that he had bound himself to the service of Bohemond, and that he would adhere to his obligation until death. The reproofs of the surrounding nobles served only to quicken his pride, and turning to Alexius, he exclaimed, "if you were to give "me as much money as this vast place could "hold, and would add as much as you have "given to the other chiefs, I would not take "the oath you request." A relation of the emperor replied with violence to language which was so foreign to a Byzantine court, and Tancred would have punished him on the spot, had not Alexius and Bohemond intervened. The

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pride and anger of the noble cavalier did not continue long: but history is in doubt whether he became the liegeman of the emperor.*

A.D.1097, 3 July. Commencement of the march through Asia Minor.

On the ninth day, subsequently to the capture of Nice, the Crusaders departed from the vicinity of the city, and took the road to Antioch. After a few days' march, in a southerly direction where the army suffered much from heat and thirst, they separated by mutual consent into two bodies, and in that order pursued their route. In one division were Bohemond, Tancred, Robert of Normandy, and Stephen of Chartres; in the other were Raymond, Godfrey, Adhemar, and Hugh.†

The loss of his capital had not dispirited Kilidge Arslan; but he flew to every part of his dominions; and by the time that the Crusaders left the emperor, his shrilling trumpet had summoned an army, which has been variously estimated from two hundred thousand to three hundred and sixty thousand men.‡ He watched the march of the Latins; and

* Alexiad, 250. The princess Anna relates the taking of the oath by Tancred. Rad. Cad. p. 292, mentions the conversation between Tancred and the emperor, but gives us no reason to think that the oath was taken. The other Latin writers are silent.

† Archb. of Tyre, 672. Albert, 215. Alexiad, 251.

‡ Besides innumerable parties of Arabs, the vultures of an Asiatic camp.

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Battle of Doryleum.

when their force was broken, he prepared to attack the division of Bohemond, for that was the least numerous one. The Christians were reposing on the banks of a river in the valley of Gorgon, when the alarming rumour reached them of the rapid approach of the foe. Bohemond gave his camp to the charge of the infantry, and, with his cavalry, prepared himself for the impetuous shock of the Moslem savages. The sultan left about one half of his army in the mountains; with the other he descended into the plain: and his soldiers made the air ring with such shouts and yells, that the enemy, unused to the clamour, were filled with astonishment and alarm.* The heroes of Asia discharged their feathered artillery before the Christians could fight with their swords and lances. Few of the Turkish arrows fell without effect; for though the coat of mail defended the men, the horses were completely exposed. A brother of Tancred, and Robert of Paris, severally attempted to charge the Turks, and to press them to close combat; but they constantly evaded the onset, and their pointed weapons checked their furious foe. Both the gallant Italian and the haughty Frenchman

* Agreeably to the fashion of the times, the devil was supposed to be the author of this clamour. The words diabolicus sonus, and demoniaca vox, occur within two lines of each other in the Gesta Francorum, p. 6.

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were slain; and the remains of their forces were compelled to retreat. Tancred himself fought as a soldier rather than as a general; but the prudent Bohemond drew him from increasing dangers. The Turks pursued their success, and pressed forwards to the camp of the Crusaders, where, laying aside their bows, they used their swords with equal execution. Mothers and their children were killed; and neither priests nor old men were spared.* The cries of the dying reached the ears of Bohemond, who, leaving the command to Robert of Normandy, rushed towards the tents, and scattered the enemy. The Christians, weary, thirsty, and oppressed with labour and heat, would have sunk into despair, if the women of the camp had not revived their courage, and brought them water from the stream. The combat was renewed with tenfold vigour. The Norman chieftain fought with all the valour which ennobled his family. He rallied the alarmed troops by his vociferations of those words of courage, *Deus id vult*, and, with his standard in his hand, he darted into the midst of the

* Some of the matrons and damsels of quality preferred Turkish slavery and its accompaniments to a glorious death. They dressed themselves in their most sumptuous robes, exhibited all their charms, and threw themselves at the feet of the conqueror. Albert, p. 212.

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Moslems. When he was joined by Bohemond, all the Christians returned to their duty; despair gave birth to fierceness, and death was preferred to flight. Their fate was averted by the consequences of the early prudence of Bohemond. Immediately on the appearance of the Turks, he had sent messengers to Godfrey and the other leaders, who, at the head of forty thousand soldiers, hastened to assist their brethren. The duke of Lorraine and the count of Vermandois were the first that reached the field of battle; and Adhemar and Raymond soon increased the force. The Turks were panic-struck at this unexpected event. In the breasts of the holy warriors revenge and emulation inflamed the ardour of conquest; and the holy flame burnt with double violence, when, by the exhortations of the clergy, their minds were recalled to the nature of the cause for which they were in arms. Amidst the animating shouts of prayers and benedictions the standard of the cross was unfurled, and every soldier swore to tell his devotion with revengeful deeds on the helmets of his foes. The heavy charge of the Latins was irresistible. The quivers of the Turks were exhausted: and in close combat the long and pointed swords of the Franks were more deadly than the Turkish sabres. The Moslems fled on every side, and

Victory of the Christians.

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abandoned their camp in the mountains to the enemy. The Christians pursued them for three miles, and then, as devout as joyful, returned to their old positions, singing hymns to God. Four thousand of the lower orders of the Franks, and three thousand commanders of the Turks, fell in this great action between holy and infidel warriors.* The Turkish spoils amply repaid the fatigues of the day.† The next morning the Christians performed the melancholy task of separating their fallen companions from the corpses of the enemy; and the holy cross on the shoulder was a well known distinction. But feelings of joy soon

* The Archbishop's expression is, "Cecidisse dicuntur illâ "die de hostium numero viri potentes et incliti, et apud suos "locum maximum obtinentes, ad tria millia: de nostris vero "popularibus, et plebe infima promiscui sexus, quatuor millia; "nam de majoribus duos tantum ibi corruisse, veterum tradit "memoria," p. 674. In their public letter to Europe on the subject of the events of the war, the princes of the Crusaders wrote, that thirty thousand Turks were killed in the battle of Doryleum, and only three thousand Christians. Martenne, Vet. Scrip. Amp. Coll. I. 568. It is evident from all the Latin accounts of the battle of Doryleum, that the Crusaders were surprised at the valour and military conduct of the Turks. They praise them as the first of all Asiatic nations, and vaunt their own superiority over the Greeks.

† Gesta, 7. Robert, 41. Guibert, 493, 494. Gesta, 564. Archb. of Tyre, 674. Rad. Cad. 293, 294. Mus. Ital. 1. 155. De Guignes, vol. ii. book 11, p. 21.

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succeeded to those of woe. They hastened to despoil the carcasses of the Turks: "and who "can tell the quantity of gold, and silver, and "clothes which they found! The horses, "mules, camels, and asses, could not be "numbered. The poor instantly became rich, "and the naked were clothed."*

Distressing march through Phrygia.

Three days after the battle of Doryleum, the army recommenced its march, and entered the mountainous country of Phrygia. Unforeseen distresses encompassed them. The co-operation of Alexius was cold and confined, when his great object, the reduction of Nice, was achieved; and his fears of the virtue of his allies had made him conceal from them the horrors of a passage through Asia Minor to Syria. From the ruins of the Nissian Seljuks, Saisan, the son of Kilidge Arslan, raised a force of ten thousand horsemen, and going into those countries which they knew would be traversed by the Croises, they represented themselves as victors. The people were unable to oppose assertions which could be supported by the sword; and they admitted the Turks into their towns. The churches were despoiled, the public treasures were robbed, and the stores in the granaries were eaten or

* Robert, 42.

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destroyed.* The miserable Christians followed their enemies through this wasted land. The soil too was dry and sterile; and Europeans could ill endure the heat of a Phrygian summer. In one day five hundred people died. Women, no longer able to afford sustenance to their infants, exposed their breasts to the swords of the soldiers. Many of the horses perished: the baggage (it was a lamentable yet a laughable sight, says an eye-witness) was placed on the backs of goats, hogs, and dogs. These animals too died of thirst; and neither the dogs of the chase nor the falcons could hunt the prey which the woods afforded. The Crusaders passed the Phrygian mountains and deserts, and reached a country where the very means of life were fatal to many. They threw themselves without caution into the first river that presented itself; and nature could not support the transition from want to satiety. Their march to Antiochetta was effected without addition to their loss; and they found that that city had been spared from Turkish ravages.†

Expedition of Baldwin and Tancred into Cilicia.

When the soldiers had refreshed themselves at Antiochetta, Godfrey and Bohemond sent their seconds in command, Baldwin and Tan-

* Tudebodus, 783.

† Baldwin, 99. Archb. of Tyre, 675. Guibert, 495. Fulcher, 389. Albert, 215.

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cred, to explore the surrounding country, and to try the fortune of war with the Moslems.— These lieutenants directed their march to Iconium but the people had deserted that city, and fled with their property into the mountains. Whenever skill or circumstances could favour them, the Turks anticipated the course of the Christians, and desolation marked their way. The Latins wandered, and became separated among the rugged steeps of Cilicia; and Tancred at length found himself before Tarsus, which was then in Turkish possession, yet containing a considerable Armenian and Grecian population. The Turks wisely abandoned all thoughts of resistance. The standard of the Italian prince was placed on one of the city's towers, in token of victory; but the fate of the inhabitants was reserved for the decision of Bohemond and the grand army. A few days afterwards the appearance of some troops at a distance changed the sullen submission of the citizens into clamorous hostility. Tancred too thought that they were one of the numerous flying squadrons of the enemy; but he told the people that the righteousness of his cause would give him conquest; and even that if he should fail, Bohemond would punish their attempt to violate the treaty. He descended into the plain to meet the troops; but he found

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that it was Baldwin's soldiers who had caused the alarm. Their wanderings in the Cilician mountains ended in the plains round Tarsus. The Turks, who had lately been so loud in their rejoicings, sunk into lamentation; and the Italians willingly gave to their famished brethren some of those provisions which they had levied from the people.

Jealousy immediately seized the ambitious heart of Baldwin, on beholding the standard of Tancred. The brother of Godfrey treated with contempt the claims of his noble compeer and Bohemond; he declared that as his troops composed the most numerous division, he was entitled to command. To this disgusting arrogance Tancred mildly replied, that, as he had taken Tarsus without any co-operation, he was justified in retaining it. Unable to resist altogether the power of the conquerors, and yet greedy of plunder, the Frenchman proposed that the city should be delivered to general spoliation. But the high-minded Italian declared that his religion forbade him from injuring his brethren in the faith. The people of Tarsus had chosen him as their lord, and he would never remove from them his protecting shield. It was finally agreed that the citizens should determine whose dominion they would submit to; and they declared that they preferred the

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dominion of Tancred to that of any other general.

Injustice of Baldwin.

The ambition of Baldwin was incompatible with justice: and while Tancred suspected no wrong, he intrigued with the Christians and with the Turkish garrison. He told them that Bohemond and Tancred were men of small consideration; and were not to be compared with Godfrey, who had been chosen leader of the army of Crusaders.* If the people would elect

* This assertion of Baldwin that his brother Godfrey was generalissimo, was an artifice in order to gain consequence with the people of Tarsus. The whole tenour of the crusade shews, that whatever respect was paid to Godfrey, was not a tribute to power, but to superior virtues and talents. The duke of Lorraine never attempted to convert that superiority which was yielded to his merits, into a real dominion. The operations of the army were directed by a council of chiefs, of which the count of Blois and Chartres was the president. Archb. of Tyre, p. 703. It was the celebrated Benedetto Accolti who furnished Tasso with the idea that Godfrey was supreme commander. Accolti wrote in the fifteenth century an account of the first crusade. It is short, but expressive and entertaining; and the notes to Dempster's edition of it are full of learning and criticism. The work of the secretary of the republic of Arezzo was very popular for a time; and it is a reasonable conjecture of Dr. Joseph Wharton, that Tasso took from it the hint of his fine subject. The Rev. J. H. Hunt has, I observe, in his late excellent translation of the Jerusalem Delivered, adopted the opinion that it was the Lusiad of Camoens that first stimulated the ambition and roused the jealousy of Tasso to write an heroic poem.

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Baldwin for their chief, they should be honoured and rewarded by the duke of Lorraine: otherwise their city should be condemned to destruction; a doom which no power of the Italian lords could reverse. These threats and promises prevailed: the banner of the conqueror was trodden under foot, while that of Baldwin floated from the citadel. Tancred concealed his mortification, and retired to the neighbouring town of Azara, then in the possession of the Crusaders. When his troops were recruited, he carried them to conquest. The town of Mamistra fell before him; and the most valuable part of the spoil were horses, more than sufficient to repair the losses which his own soldiers had sustained. The departure of Tancred from Tarsus determined the Turks and Armenians; and they opened their city to his successful rival. The Turkish garrison, however, retained all the fortifications, except two towers, which were given to some of the soldiers of Baldwin, while the rest of his people were dispersed through the place. At the commencement of night three hundred soldiers of the army of Bohemond presented themselves at the gates, claiming admittance and hospitality. Their fatigue and hunger touched not the selfishness of Baldwin, for they were the friends of Tancred; and the hypocrite

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attempted to justify his inhumanity by declaring that it would be a violation of the oath which he had taken to the Turks and Armenians, were he to admit into the city any soldiers but those of Godfrey. His troops, however, more humane than their leader, because less ambitious, lowered viands over the walls to their half-famished brethren of the cross, who prepared to repose themselves in the fields. The Turks doubted the fidelity of Baldwin to his oath; and, in the secrecy and darkness of the night, they left the city with their families and property, through the gates of the towers whereof they had retained the possession. They unavoidably reached the place where the soldiers of Bohemond were reposing, in consciousness that their comrades were masters of Tarsus. This opportunity of shedding blood was not lost; and the Moslems left but few of the Italians alive to tell the dismal consequences of fearless confidence. In the morning, when the soldiers of Baldwin went to the ramparts in order to mark the state of their comrades, they saw their headless trunks, and the fields running with their gore. Baldwin and his generals were violently accused with being the authors of this calamity, and the walls of the towers alone preserved them from the first fury of popular indignation. It cannot be supposed

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that the sophistical argument which Baldwin urged, of his inability to admit any Christians to enter the town, could appease the tumult, but he turned the tide of anger from himself to about two hundred Turks, who had not fled with their companions. These poor wretches were sacrificed to revenge and fury, passions which were aggravated by the sight of many illustrious women of Tarsus, whose noses and ears had been cut off because they resisted the brutal licentiousness of their Turkish lords. All inclinations to rebellion were stifled by new circumstances. For eight years a large band of pirates from Holland and France had been sailing in the Mediterranean, and, touched by that superstition which influenced both the vicious and the virtuous, they resolved to atone for their robberies on Christians by plundering the infidel Moslems. They landed near Tarsus, while Baldwin was in the city. The different people recognized each other as countrymen; and as Weimar, one of the principal pirates, had once lived upon the estate of the dukes of Lorraine, an union was easily effected. Some days were passed in merriment and feasting, and then leaving in the city a garrison of five hundred men, formed from both bodies of soldiers, the lord of Tarsus and his troops followed the steps of Tancred, and arrived near Mamistra.

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War between Tancred and Baldwin.

Richard, prince of Salernum, urged his kinsman to seize this occasion of revenging his wrongs on Baldwin. The advice was congenial with the indignant feelings of the young Italian, and his soldiers readily imbibed the same spirit. He sent his archers into the plain against such of Baldwin's troops as were in their tents, and to destroy the horses which were in pasturage, and himself led five hundred of his heavily armed warriors against the treacherous Frenchman. But the force of Tancred could not successfully cope with that of his antagonist. After some ineffectual exhibitions of bravery, the baffled Italians retreated into the city, and among the captives, they had the misfortune to reckon the prince of Salernum, and a renowned chief, named Robert of Ansa. Feelings of charity and peace succeeded this sanguinary encounter. The next morning, both parties sent deputies to each other, prisoners were interchanged, and the Christians were ashamed or weary of their unbrotherly feuds. Baldwin hastened to return to the grand army, and visit his brother Godfrey, who was ill of a wound which he had received in a contest with a boar in the forest round Antiochetta.* The

* About this time the count of Tholouse was dangerously ill. His patron saint, the holy Giles, promised assistance; but the messenger to Raymond of the saint's intentions was not

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pirates were left with Tancred, who overrun all Cilicia with fire and sword. He carried his conquests as far as Alexandretta. The Turks fled to the mountains, and wisely appeased the fury of the Christians by sending to their camp large presents of gold, silver, horses, and provisions.* Baldwin rejoined the main army at Marascha, its first general resting-place after its departure from Antiochetta. They had passed through Iconium and Heraclea, and those, and all other places, were abandoned by the natives before they arrived. Their fatigues and privations, in their route from Heraclea to Marascha, bore down the courage of the firmest; and if the Turks had acted with more policy than precipitation, Jerusalem would always have continued under the Moslem yoke. One of the mountains towards the south of the great chain of Mount Taurus admitted the passage of only a single file; and the road was so rugged, that several of the beasts of burthen stumbled and fell into the abyss. The soldiers, exhausted and fainting

Distresses of the main army in the passage through Lycaonia.

implicitly credited; for the attendants took the count from his bed, and laid him on the floor to die in dust and ashes. The saint, however, was as good as his word, notwithstanding the want of faith in his pretended votaries. Raymond de Agiles, 142. Mabillon, i. 157.

* For this joint expedition of Tancred and Baldwin, I have followed Albert, 215-220, Archb. of Tyre, 676-680, and Rad. Cad. 297-301.

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with thirst, thought only of personal safety, and many of them disencumbered themselves of their helmets and armour.*

Foundation of the Latin state of Edessa.

The crimes of Baldwin were heard of with merited indignation by all the Latin soldiers: most of his own deserted him, and if he had not been the brother of Godfrey, his selfishness and disregard to justice would not have been unpunished by Bohemond and his Italians.† A reception of this description was not calculated to unite him to the army and its holy purposes, and he resolved to execute those dazzling prospects of ambition which some late events had presented to his fancy. Pancrates, an Armenian prince, had represented to him that the countries on the other side of the Euphrates were rich, and that a large Christian population was oppressed by small bodies of Turks. Baldwin collected such of the troops as were still faithful to his standard, and at the head of two hundred horsemen, and a large party of foot soldiers, he quitted the main army in order to plunder and devastate Mesopotamia. Between Marascha and the Euphrates all the towns opened their gates. Turbessel was left

* Archb. of Tyre, 684. Albert, 224. Tudebodus, 784. Agreeably to usual practice, the mountain most difficult of passage was called the mountain of the Devil.

† Archb. of Tyre, 681.

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in the possession of the Armenians, and the son of Pancrates was appointed governor of Ravendel. The friendship between the brother of Godfrey and his ally was soon turned into deadly hatred. Two Armenian princes charged Pancrates with the wish to enjoy Ravendel without owning the authority of the Franks. Neither torture nor imprisonment could for a while extort an order for the delivery of the contested place to the soldiers of Baldwin: but the savage command that the limbs of Pancrates should be torn asunder, deprived him of all remains of courage, and the Armenian acceded to the desires, and then fled from the service of his master.*

The fame and power of Baldwin spread beyond the Euphrates; and the discontented inhabitants of Edessa looked to him as their saviour. That city was still enjoyed by the Greeks, though it paid a heavy tribute to the emir of the surrounding country. Its remoteness from Constantinople enfranchised the governor, and the Edessenes were oppressed both by his exactions and the Turkish tribute. For the removal of submission to the Moslems, the people compelled Thorus, duke of Edessa, to crave the aid of Baldwin: and at their solicita-

* Albert, 220, 221.

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tion he prepared to pass the Euphrates. The two hundred horse soldiers with which he had left the army of Godfrey were now diminished by the accidents of war, and the establishing of conquests, to the small number of eighty. With them, and the scanty remains of foot soldiers, he entered Mesopotamia, and the people of the vicinity of Edessa, with crosses and standards, met their allies, prostrated themselves, and kissed the feet of those whom they considered to be their preservers.* The testimonies of honour which Baldwin received from the clergy and people, made the duke of Edessa apprehend that his friends would become his masters. Apparently in order to discover the intentions of the stranger, he offered to make him large pecuniary rewards if he would remain in the town, and defend it from the exactions of the Turks. But Baldwin disdained submission, and declared that he would instantly quit the country. The timid people pressed the duke to retain him, and as he was childless, even to adopt him as his son. Unable to resist the torrent of opinion, Thoros, in full council, received Baldwin to his arms, threw over him his own shirt, folded him to his bosom, and gave him the kiss of filiation. The wife of the duke also made the Italians undergo

* Fulcher, 389.

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the same strange ceremony, and she embraced him as her child.* From that time, confident of the aid of Baldwin, the Edessenes looked for an opportunity to revenge themselves upon the Turks. The Ortokides, whom we have already mentioned as possessors of Jerusalem a few years before the crusade, spread their conquests into Mesopotamia, and at the time of which we are now writing, Balduc, an Ortokide, was lord of the fortress of Samosat, which of right appertained to Edessa. He kept up an incessant course of robbery on the flocks and herds of the Greeks; and, in hopes of reaping profit by their ransom, he seized women and children. Some of these people were in the tower of Samosat, and the Edesenes implored Baldwin to go to their rescue. Constantine, an Armenian prince, governor of Gargara, near Marascha, was also called. The two chiefs joined their levies, defeated their enemies in the field, and drove them into the citadel. While the Christians were

* Guibert, 496. Archb. of Tyre, 682, 684. De Guignes, vol. ii. part ii. p. 137. Guibert, who occasionally gives us a notion of the manners of the time, says that he heard the mode of the adoption was as follows: "Intra lineam inte-"rulam quam nos vocamus *Camisiam*, nudum intrare eum "faciens, sibi adstrinxit; et deinde omnia osculo libato "firmavit. *Idem et mulier post modum fecit.*"—Guibert, p. 496.

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rioting in the suburbs of Samosat, the Moslems made a sortie; two thousand of the plunderers were slain, and Constantine and Baldwin fled to Edessa.* The personal merits of the latter soon redeemed him from the disgrace of defeat, and the senate and people conspired to rid themselves of their old master, whom they charged with having stimulated the Turks to plunder their country, whenever they had declined to submit to his exactions. Baldwin refused his concurrence with their wishes, alleging the sacredness of his filial character, and his dread of endangering his fair name among the Christian princes. He went to the king, and warned him against popular fury. The wretched Thorus offered to resign all his treasures to his rebellious subjects, and retire from the country. At one moment the people assented to these conditions; in the next they exclaimed that his life must be forfeited, to atone for the injuries which his pusillanimity and avarice had drawn on their heads. He endeavoured to escape by a cord from the window of his tower, but the conspirators saw their victim, and pierced him with a thousand arrows. His head was carried about in triumph, and the Edessenes committed every

* Archb. of Tyre, 683. Albert, 222. Matthew of Edessa, 308. Bayeri, Hist. Osrhoena et Edessena, lib. v.

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species of indignity upon his body.* The next morning Baldwin was crowned prince of Edessa, and received the royal treasures. Balduc, assured that resistance to this foe would be a fruitless wasting of blood, offered to resign the fortress of Samosat for ten thousand pieces of gold. Baldwin expected an unconditional submission, but he was obliged to yield to the extortion, because the Turk threatened to kill all the Edessenes who were in his power. By the conditions of the treaty, Balduc and his attendants went to Edessa, and some suspicions of treachery made Baldwin insist that his wife and children should be given as hostages. The Ortokite could not resist a nominal compliance with the demand, yet he from day to day neglected to perform it.† The new Edessene lord soon experienced the instability of popular favour, and it was found that the people had changed their masters, without having lost their slavery. Conspiracies were formed against him: but he unravelled and exposed the machinations of his rebellious subjects, and showed his ability

* Albert, 122, Archb. of Tyre, 683. Matthew of Edessa takes the side of Thoros, and charges the people with deep ingratitude. The crime of rebellion is owned by the Latin historians: the violation of their promise to Thoros rests on the authority of Matthew only.

† Albert, 222.

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for the difficult task of forming a new government. He engaged also in a foreign war, and by the conquest of Sororgia, all the road between Antioch and Edessa belonged to the Crusaders. Balak, the grandson of Ortoc, had been the lord of Sororgia, and when his castle was taken from him, he entered into an alliance with the Christians. But he soon offered to surrender even the last place which remained to him, and to liv with his family in Edessa, urging as his reason, that his connection with Baldwin brought upon him the hatred of the Muselmans. The new prince of Mesopotamia gave some credit to the sincerity of this wish, and went on an appointed day with two hundred cavaliers to the fortress of Balak. Suspicious by nature as well as by experience, he remained on his guard, but twelve of his soldiers were seized by the emir, who had not the prudence to conceal his treachery till circumstances could allow him to complete his scheme of villany. All demands for a restoration of the prisoners were refused. Baldwin, not being strong enough to enforce his requisition, retired to his capital; but Fulbert of Chartres, commander of Sororgia, laid waste the petty dominions of the Ortokites, and procured the release of ten of the Frenchmen; the other two were decapitated by the Turks. Baldwin affected not to respect the

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virtue and honour of his other foe, and he embraced the occasion of an attempt of Balduc at an escape, to seize this dangerous emir, and put him to death.*

While a few ambitious and courageous soldiers were triumphing over an inert population, and founding an European state in Mesopotamia, the general force of the Crusaders was advancing towards the capital of Syria. The Armenians frequently assisted their brethren in the faith with arms and provisions.† The count of Flanders, and one thousand knights, went to Artesia (since Calchidia), and with the aid of the Christian inhabitants, destroyed the Moslem garrison. The news of this loss alarmed Baghasian, the Seljukian governor of Antioch, and he dispatched ten thousand men to check the march of his enemy. Some of his squadrons ravaged the Artesian territory, while their more numerous battalions kept concealed. Though acquainted with the nature of Turkish warfare, the impetuous courage of the Franks overleaped the suggestions of experience. The

* Albert and the archbishop, *ubi supra;* and De Guignes, tome ii. p. 136.

† Quand les Allemands passèrent pour aller dans la Terre Sainte, Nicétas dit que les Arméniens les reçurent comme amis, parce qu'ils n'adoroient pas les images. Montesquieu, Grandeur et Décadence des Romains, chap. xxii.

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count poured his troops upon the plains, the Turks withdrew, and led the foe into the ambuscade. When recovered from their astonishment, the Christians endeavoured to fall back upon their old position: but not a man would have escaped the edge of the Tartarian scimitar if Tancred had not at that exigent moment joined them on his return to Bohemond from his Cilician conquests. His arrival changed the fate of the day, and his sword was so deeply stained with Turkish blood, that he enabled his friends to retreat to Artesia.* Open force was as inefficacious as stratagem for the recovery of the city, whose lofty towers and ample stores of provisions, bade defiance to a siege. The Turks made some efforts at the walls, and then returned to Baghasian, communicating the alarming news of the approach of the whole force of the Crusaders.† Godfrey and his army refreshed themselves at their new conquest, and then took the road to Antioch. Every measure announced the growing importance of the expedition. Orders were issued, forbidding individuals to quit the ranks without leave of their generals, and Robert of Normandy was sent before to remove the difficul-

* Albert, 225. Rad. Cad. 303. M. of Edessa, 308.

† Albert, *ubi supra*; and the Archb. of Tyre, 685.

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ties of the march. The river Orontes was one of the barriers of the city, and possession of the iron bridge* was necessary for an attacking army: but its guard had been considerably increased, and Robert lost so many men in attempting to force a passage, that he anxiously looked for co-operation. Whether the assurances of Adhemar to the Normans, that God was on that day fighting with them, inspired the soldiers to one great effort, or whether the arrival of Godfrey appalled the Turks, is a subject of vain and useless discussion; but in fact the gates of the bridge soon were in the hands of the Latins, and all the army passed. On the next morning they invested Antioch.†

Arrival of the Latins before Antioch, October 21st 1097.

* The bridge was of nine stone arches, and from the circumstance of its gates being covered with iron plates, it received the title of the Iron Bridge. Pococke, Description of the East, vol. ii. p. 172.

† Guibert, 498. Baldric, 101. Albert, 226. Archb. of Tyre, 685.

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CHAP. V.

MILITARY AND CIVIL HISTORY OF THE CROISES AT ANTIOCH.

The city invested—Unskilful operations of the Croises—Famine in the Christian Camp—Singular mode of getting rid of spies—Many of the Croises desert—Manners of the camp—Embassy of the caliph of Egypt—Policy of the Latins—The Croises aided by Pisa and Genoa—Prowess of the Latin chiefs—Inhumanity of the Latins—Retreat of the count of Chartres—Antioch taken by stratagem—The Croises massacre the inhabitants—The Persians attack the Franks—The Latins are blockaded—Second Famine—More desertions—Alexius abandons his allies—Impiety of some new Croises—Direful effects of Alexius' retreat—The Christians saved by some superstitious frauds—Embassy of the Hermit to the Persians—Prudence of Godfrey—Preparations for battle—Battle of Antioch—Victory of the Croises.

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THE capital of Syria was only four miles in circumference, and extended over both elevated and level land. It was surrounded by a wall; and, in those places where the mountainous nature of the ground presented no natural

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defence, the height of the artificial bulwark was more than sixty feet. A deep ditch nearly encompassed the city; the Orontes washed part of the western walls; and opposite to the spots on the north and east, where the Crusaders encamped, was a marsh, which had been formed by the waters from the adjacent hills.* On the prospect of an attack, the emir, a grandson of Malek Shah, made every preparation of defence. The fortifications were repaired, and furnished with hostile engines; and the magazines of provisions were replenished. Most of the male Christian population were considered superfluous consumers of stores, and were dismissed from the place. Antioch was the refuge of many of those people whom the Latins in their march had dispossessed; and the auxiliary and native troops amounted to six thousand or seven thousand horse soldiers, and from fifteen thousand to twenty thousand foot.†

Antioch invested.

The formidable appearance of the city sunk the heroism of some of the leaders into timorous prudence. They urged in council that many of their troops were dispersed over the country in various garrisons, and could not be recalled till the spring. In that season the emperor of

* Archb. of Tyre, 686, &c.

† Mus. Ital. I. 16. Archb. of Tyre, 688, 689.

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Constantinople would send money and stores, and succours of men would also arrive from the west. But Raymond and others contended that inaction would produce vice and disorder; and a delay of the attack would be construed by the Turks into a consequence of inability and cowardice. "The power of God, which "has hitherto given us victory, will still be our "spear and shield; and while we are favoured "by heaven, we need not fear either princes, "or places, or times."* This appeal to bravery and religion banished despondency: and in order to guard against relaxation or cowardice, the chiefs bound themselves by oath not to desist from the siege till the city should be taken by force or stratagem.† The plan of attack was agreed upon; and the camp was formed round the eastern, northern, and towards the western sides: part of the west and all the south were left open to the besieged. The city had five gates: and by this arrangement, the gate of the bridge, and the gate of St. George belonged to the Turks. The other three gates were blockaded. Bohemond and Tancred, who commanded the Italians, were opposite the entrance of the east, called the gate of St. Paul. The two Roberts, Stephen

* Raymond, 142. Archb. of Tyre, 689.

† Malmsbury, 432.

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CHAP. V. of Chartres, and Hugh Vermandois, with the Normans, the French, the Flemish, and the English, extended from the camp of Bohemond, in a northerly direction, to a gate called the gate of the dog. From this gate to that of the duke, so named from the title of Godfrey, were Raymond and Adhemar with the people of Gascony, Provence, and Burgundy. Godfrey, with his brother, and Conon of Montague, and Reginald of Toul, accompanied by the people of Lorraine, the Frisons, the Saxons, the Franconians, and Bavarians, extended from the gate of the duke towards that of the bridge.*

For some time the Crusaders rioted in plenty, totally undisturbed by the people of Antioch. The vallies round the city were fertile in corn and grapes; and herds of cattle were fed in their rich meadows.† Some days were lost by the besieged in the oppression of terror; but at length they resumed their heroism, and the horrors of war began. The few Greeks and Armenians of the city were allowed free communication with their brethren; and it was the universal complaint that they reported to the Turks the state of the Franks, and the preparations for hostility.‡ The garrison made fre-

* Archb. of Tyre, 689. De Guignes, vol. ii. part 2. p. 87.
† Baldric, 101. ‡ Baldric, *ubi sup.* Robert, 45.

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quent sallies from the unblockaded gates; and by the desultory mode of war in which the Turks excel, they harassed the foraging parties, and imperfectly guarded places of the camp.* For want of a bridge near the station of Godfrey, the Latin soldiers were obliged to wade or swim over the river, which it was necessary for them to pass when they were in quest of provisions. Ingenuity, however, at length assisted them; and a number of boats lashed together united the opposite shores. They hurled enormous stones, and impelled their battering-rams against the walls; but Antioch had in former ages resisted many a vigorous attack, and the mouldering hand of time had spared it. The usual battering instruments were ineffectual; and, at the cost of much invention and labour, they erected a new machine in the shape of a tower, and filled it with troops. The soldiers of Raymond wheeled it to the gate; but the showers of arrows from the Turks destroyed the assailants, and the besieged made a sortie at the same time, and set fire to the artificial tower which was soon reduced to ashes. Their subsequent efforts against the walls were equally vain, for the Antiochians attacked them in the rear as well as from the battlements. As all the

Unskilful operations of the Croises.

* Archb. of Tyre, 690. Gesta, 11.

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courage and skill of the Crusaders had been foiled, they now opposed the Turks by means which could only have been expected from the simplicity and ignorance of savages. They dug immense stones from neighbouring rocks, and accumulated them in such piles before the gate of the bridge, that the people of the city were in that quarter effectually barricadoed.*

So unskilful were the operations of the besiegers, that, at the end of three months, Antioch stood firm and uninjured. The labours of the Croises were in circle rather than in progression. The distresses which they had made in the country now recoiled on themselves; they repented of their improvident waste of the forage which they had collected from the other side of the river. The vicinity of Antioch was exhausted, and the wintry season prevented any commerce between the camp and distant lands. The sword of the enemy, and the more afflicting pangs of hunger, daily carried off numbers both of rich and poor.† An ox, which, at the commencement of the siege, was scarcely worth fifteen shillings, became as valuable as four pounds. The price of a lamb or kid was increased nearly twenty-fold. The pods of unripe beans were con-

Famine in the Christian camp.

* Archb. of Tyre, 691.

† Robert, 46. Fulcher, 390. Archb. of Tyre, 692.

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sidered as delicacies; and thistles were held in the same estimation; though, in consequence of the scarcity of fuel, they could only be half boiled. Carrion was openly dressed; and human flesh was eaten in secret.* Twenty-four shillings scarcely furnished a horse's provender for one night; and hence the cavalry, which at the beginning of the siege numbered more than seventy thousand† horses, was soon after Christmas reduced to two thousand. The winter rains were heavier than usual; they made a morass of the camp, and putrified the tents and military accoutrements. Pestilential diseases necessarily sprung from these calamities. The surface of the Latin positions presented the appearance of one vast burial place. Many of the soldiers escaped evils which active bravery could not resist, nor patient endurance mitigate, by flying to the Christian settlements in Cilicia and Mesopotamia. Robert of Normandy went to a new English

* The assertion of cannibalism is made by Malmsbury, p. 433. Cannibalism was carried to a great extent by the lowest of the low, who, in the course of the siege, were formed into a regular battalion, and fought bravely with the Turks. "Et si Sarracenum noviter interfectum invenerunt, illius carnes, ac si "essent pecudis, avidissime devorabant."

† This is the archbishop of Tyre's statement, p. 692. If it be correct, then, the Crusaders lost thirty thousand horses at the siege of Nice, and in their march through Asia Minor.

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CHAP. V. colony in Laodicea, and did not return to the army till he had been thrice recalled.* By the advice of the council, Bohemond, Tancred, and Robert of Flanders, with all the cavalry and fifteen thousand foot soldiers, made a predatory excursion into the Turkish territories. Raymond and Adhemar remained to guard the camp. Godfrey was oppressed by illness. Acquainted with every movement of their foes, the Turks seized this favourable occasion of attacking them. The bravery of the Christians rose with their dangers; they routed the infidels; but the impetuosity of their valour urged them to press too quickly after the Turks; and their imprudence cost them dear; for a new sally was made upon their divided squadrons, and the Moslems recovered the day. Bohemond and his troops returned to the camp with large stores of provisions; but they were soon exhausted by the ill disciplined army; and the Turks learnt that famine had once more afflicted their enemy. Experience at length taught the Crusaders the propriety of vigilance, and of total separation from the people in Antioch. Under the disguise of Greeks, Syrians, and Armenians, the Moslems

* Fulcher, 391. Guibert, 500. Archb. of Tyre, 693. Rad. Cad. 395.

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frequently mixed with the army, and reported its condition to Baghasian. A repetition of such conduct was prevented by an expedient at once ludicrous and dreadful. Bohemond slew some Turkish prisoners, and roasted them in the general presence. He then exclaimed to the astonished bye-standers that his appetite would submit to necessity, and that during the famine he would greedily devour what at other times would be loathsome and disgusting.*

Singular mode of getting rid of spies.

Desertions multiplied; and among those which gave most offence to the generals, was the departure from the army of Taticius. He represented to the council that if he were permitted to go to Constantinople, he would induce his imperial master to open the granaries for the benefits of his liegemen. He would bind himself by oath to return, and would leave his tents as the pledge of his fidelity. Whether the chiefs were seduced by these fair promises, or whether they foresaw his treachery, and yet thought it prudent to conceal their feelings, is an uncertain and immaterial point. Taticius, and his soldiers departed, never to return, and, according to the lamentation of the archbishop of Tyre, the people, with so pernicious an example before them, had no scruple in violating

Many of the Crusaders desert.

* Albert. 231, 2. Archb. of Tyre, 693. De Guignes, vol. ii. liv. 12. p. 88. Bernardus, p. 691.

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CHAP. V. their oaths and public professions.* The desertion of Taticius was not the only great instance of cowardice in this part of the siege. Two other columns of the sacred army gave way. The warriors were confounded by the departure of William viscount Melun, surnamed the Carpenter,† and the fanatics were disgraced by the worldly-mindedness of Peter.‡ They at-

* This is the account of the flight of Taticius, as given by the Latin historians. Raymond, 146. Guibert, 502. William of Tyre, 694. The story is far more plausible than that of the princess Anna. She tells us (p. 252) that Bohemond had formed plans for the possession of Antioch, and that he was unwilling to deliver it up to Taticius agreeably to the conditions of his oath. A report was at that time in circulation, that the sultan of Persia was about to succour Baghasian. Bohemond told Taticius that the Latin princes thought this succour was at the instigation of Alexius, and that therefore they would punish his treason by destroying his general and soldiers. On this hint Taticius fled.

† So called, say Guibert and Robert, not because he was an artificer in wood, but because his battle-axe fell with the weight of a hammer, and broke through helmets and hauberks. The viscount of Melun was not celebrated for practical religion. He prepared his viaticum for Jerusalem from the plunder of poor people who lived near his estate in France. Guibert, p. 501.

‡ "When the siege grew hot, his devotion grew cold; he "found a difference betwixt a voluntary fast in his cell, and a "necessary and indispensable famine in a camp; so that being "well nigh hunger-pinched, this cunning companion, who was "a trumpet to sound a march to others, secretly sounded a "retreat to himself." Fuller's Holy War, book I. c. 8. The

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tempted to fly together, but Tancred met them, and brought them to the tent of Bohemond. Reproaches alone would not have constituted their punishment, if royal authority and influence had not turned the sword of justice aside. At the request of Hugh of Vermandois, Bohemond accepted the declaration and oath of William, that he would never give up the holy undertaking, or bear enmity against Tancred for having intercepted his flight. Peter likewise was pardoned.†

Morals of the camp.

The famine still continued, and was as productive of crimes as the most unbounded plenty. The Croises were in that state of sullen savage desperation which the extreme of misery often produces. The dying and the dead were spectacles so familiar to their eyes, that death no longer taught them morality. The exhortations of the clergy to virtue, though ceaseless, were in vain, and at the suggestion of the papal legate, judicial punishments were inflicted on moral crimes. Gaming, usury, drunkenness, and frauds in buying and selling,

jesuit Oultreman, in his life of Peter, does not mention his hero's flight from Antioch.

† Gesta, II. Robert, 48. The latter is charitable enough to hope that it was hunger, and not cowardice, which made the carpenter and the hermit take flight. Baldric, 103. Guibert. 501. Tudebodus, 787. Mus. Ital. 1. 105.

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CHAP. V. were cognizable by a tribunal, which was composed of lay and clerical elders. Adhemar thought that conjugal affection was as sinful as immodest love, and that perfect chastity would be visited by divine favour. The women, both vicious and modest, were therefore separated from the men, and placed in a remote corner of the camp. About the same time Godfrey rose from the bed of sickness, and the people had no difficulty in accounting for this consolation by their return to piety.*

Embassy of the Fatimite caliph.

The news of the invasion of Syria by the

* Albert, 234. Gesta, 567. Archb. of Tyre, 695. A rumour was in circulation through the camp of the Crusaders, that Sueno, the son of a king of Denmark, and fifteen hundred men, had perished in a valley in Cappadocia. Kilidge Arslan had rallied his soldiers, and had fallen upon and totally destroyed this body of the champions of the cross, in their march from Constantinople into Syria. This story rests on the authority of Albert of Aix (p. 233), and his transcriber, the Archb. of Tyre (p. 694). Langebeck (Script. Rerum Danicarum, iii. 631, &c.), a strenuous advocate of its truth, confesses, that not one of the Danish historians mentions it. He attempts to fortify his opinion on the existence of a bas-relief in bronze, exhibiting Sueno in the habit of a Crusader. But this relief was made by order of Christian I., who reigned in the last half of the seventeenth century. There is no doubt, however, that the Danes made pilgrimages to the holy land, both before and after the council of Clermont.

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Franks had spread over all the east, and the event particularly affected the Muselman power in Egypt. The caliph Mosthadi had heard too of the famished condition of the Christians before Antioch, and thought that he could dictate terms of amity. He sent an embassy to the camp; but the Crusaders, forewarned of its approach, prepared to receive it with magnificence. They ornamented their tents, and arrayed themselves in all the splendour which they could assume. Many of the soldiers were engaged in military exercises; others in games, and the chiefs were assembled in council. The ambassadors were surprised at this appearance of prosperity and strength, and delivered the message which the supposition of another state of things had dictated. If the Christians would be obedient to the Caliph, he wished them prosperity. He could not understand the reason of their desire to travel armed to the holy sepulchre. If they would go thither as pilgrims, he would assist them in their march. The permission of a month's residence in Jerusalem should be granted to every individual who thought that it was his duty to honour the temple and sepulchre. If, however, they were still confident in their arms, he warned them against temerity, for no human power had

Policy of the Latins.

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CHAP. V. hitherto effectually opposed the caliphs of Egypt. The chiefs of the Crusade replied, that they appeared in the present time as warriors, because in their former character of pilgrims they had been despised and cruelly treated. The holy land belonged of right to the people of God, and though in chastisement of their offences it was under the Turkish yoke, yet the wrath of heaven was satisfied, and Palestine would once again flourish. The Muselmans gloried over the vanquished Greeks; but their crests would be humbled by the prowess of the Latins. The Egyptians would require the indulgence which they now proffered. Heaven had given Jerusalem to the Christians, and man could not withhold it from them. They would retain it, and guard the sepulchre from all profanation.* With this reply the conference ended. The ambassadors took the way

* This is the account of the embassy as reported by Robert, who, short in most of his narratives, is full on this subject. The archbishop of Tyre relates the story differently. He tells us (p. 696), that the caliph rejoiced in the successes of the Crusaders over the Turks, and sent ambassadors to the Christians, urging them to continue the siege of Antioch, and even offering them assistance. De Guignes seems to have preferred this narrative of the Archbishop; for he tells the same tale, though he has not put any authority in his margin, and has not even noticed the other account.

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for Cairo, and were accompanied by deputies of the Crusaders. * CHAP. V.

Baghasian observed that neither hunger, nor cold, nor fatigue, could turn the holy warriors from their purpose. He implored the aid of all the Muselman princes and emirs in Syria, and those of Cesarea, Aleppo, and Ems, prepared twenty thousand men. It was intended that they should be aided in their endeavours to enter Antioch by a sortie from the city. But the Franks were informed of these schemes, and Bohemond and Raymond prepared to meet the reinforcement before it could reach its destination. At the head of seven hundred horsemen, all the remains of their once splendid cavalry, the prince of Tarentum and the count of Tholouse proceeded to the encounter, which took place in a defile where individual bravery could not be oppressed by numbers. The attack was commenced by the Turks, but the Christians received them with couched lances, and their phalanx was impenetrable. The Moslems retreated, and the Latins pursued them with destruction. Two thousand of the Turks fell in this battle; their heads were cut off by their ferocious foes; some of which trophies of victory were sent with savage exultation to the

7th Feb. 1098.

* Raymond, 146.

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CHAP. V. Egyptian legates, and others were fixed on stakes round the camp, or shot into the town, in return for the perpetual insults and mockery of the people of Antioch.*

March. Five months had elapsed since the commencement of the siege, and various were the calamities which the brave Crusaders had survived. They now refortified the outworks of their camp, and their storehouses were replenished by succours from Italy. While Europe was agitated with rage and indignation against Asia, the republic of Venice carried on her trade with the Muselmans, unmindful of religious distinctions.† Pisa and Genoa, her rivals in commerce, took a part apparently more generous, and sent a large succour of men and

The Croises aided by Pisa and Genoa.

* Baldric, 105. Albert, 237. Guibert, 504. Archb. of Tyre, 697-8.

† Even so early as the time of Charlemagne, the Venetians used to buy slaves, and sell them to the Saracens in Spain and Sicily. Pope Zachary, about the year 747, prohibited the purchase of Christian slaves in Rome, and the sale of them to the Moslems in Africa. A little more than a century afterwards the public authority of Venice forbad the traffic of Christian slaves. The Venetians used to sell arms to the infidels, until the emperors Basil and Constantine, towards the close of the tenth century, made the republic put a stop to such transactions. Marian, Storia civile et politica del commerzio de' Veneziani, tom. i. p. 206. tom. ii. p. 55, cited in Heeren, Essai sur l'Influence des Croisades. Muratori, Antiquitates Med. Ævi. Dis. xxx. vol. ii. p. 883.

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provisions to their brethren at Antioch. The vessels arrived at the mouth of the Orontes; the joyful news was soon communicated to the camp; crowds of voracious pilgrims ran to the coast, and Bohemond and Raymond also proceeded thither, with some regular bands of troops. The Turks, ever on the watch for occasions of hostility, prepared an ambuscade of four thousand men, by whom the escort on its return was attacked in a defile. The Christian soldiers were encumbered by hundreds of the rabble, carrying provisions and implements of war. The Moslems were inflamed by the prospect of booty, and their scimitars mowed down their unprepared enemies. The prince of Tarentum took flight, and spread the news in his camp. Godfrey roused his fellow princes to revenge the death of their brethren. With the two Roberts, Hugh, and other chiefs, he marched to their succour; but before he reached the fatal passage, he was met by Raymond, who had lost many of his bravest men. Baghasian put all his troops in motion; but the duke of Lorraine returned and took possession of an eminence near the city, and slew or compelled all those who appeared to return to the shelter of their walls: and those troops who had so lately defeated Raymond, had no hopes of safety but in a second victory. The women of

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Antioch lined the ramparts; they were vociferous in their exhortations to their husbands to fight: and the Christians pretended to distinguish the sincere shouts of the Turkish wives from the artificial cries of the female Greeks and Armenians. But Baghasian had ill measured the strength and valour of the combatants; and he re-opened the gates for the preservation of the fugitives. The historians of the battle command us to believe, that if all the Christian soldiers had fought with the heroic valour of the dukes of Lorraine and Normandy (of whom stupendous feats are related), few of the Turks would have escaped the edge of their falchions. Godfrey cut one of his foes through the middle, the upper part of the body fell to the ground; but so firmly did the miscreant sit, that the lower members remained on the saddle, and the affrighted*

Prowess of the Latin chiefs.

* Tasso ascribes a feat, similar in most respects, to the fierce and fair Camilla :—

E tra'l collo, e la nuca il colpo assesta :
E tronchi i nervi, e'l gorgozzuol reciso,
Gío rotando a cader prima la testa.
Prima bruttò di polve immonda il viso,
Che giù cadesse il tronco : il tronco resta
(Miserabile mostro !) in sella assiso.
Ma libero del fren con mille rote
Calcitrando il destrier da se lo scuote.

La Gerusalemme Liber. c. ix. 70.

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horse galloped into the town. Another wretched Moslem he smote asunder from the neck to the groin, by taking aim at his head with a sword: and the weapon not only performed its prescribed duty, but cut entirely through the saddle and the back-bone of the horse. The sword of Robert of Normandy cleft the skull of a Saracen from the crown to the shoulders; and seeing one of the parts rolling over the ground, he charitably dismissed it to the powers of hell. Tancred enjoined his squire not to publish his deeds; but we must not let the modesty of the hero diminish our admiration of his courage.* A son of Baghasian, twelve emirs, and two thousand men of common rank fell in this dreadful battle: and if night had not suspended the victorious heroes' ferocity, Antioch would have fallen. The spoil reconciled the Christians to the disasters which they had experienced. On the earliest dawn of the ensuing day the Turks quitted the city, collected the dead bodies of their friends, and buried them in the common place of interment without the walls. Familiarity with scenes of horror had extinguished every feeling of humanity: the Christians

Inhumanity of the Latins.

* Sed est, quod stupeam, nec satis valeam stupere: cum homo tam pretiosus laudis emptor mox præsentis ora armigeri silentio concluserit adjurato. Rad. Cad.

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CHAP. V. dragged the corpses from the sepulchre, and despoiled them of their dresses and ornaments. They severed the heads from the trunks; and fifteen hundred of them were exposed on pikes to the weeping Turks; and some were sent to the caliph of Egypt in proof of victory.*

* Baldric, 106, 107. Raymond, 147. Albert, 237. Guibert, 505, 506. Archb. of Tyre, 699, 701. Tudebodus, 790. Ralph de Diceto, p. 493. M. Paris, p. 29, 30, and De Guignes, ii. 89, 90; where Arabic historians, however, add little to the accounts of the Latins. Malmsbury, p. 448, recites the acts of personal prowess of Godfrey, and gives us another story (on the testimony of an eye-witness) of that renowned chieftain fighting with and destroying a lion near Antioch. The man who told Malmsbury this story, though he saw the action, should have doubted the evidence of his senses. Such of the Christians (about one thousand) as were slain, threw aside their coats of mail, put on the white robe of martyrs, and went to heaven glorifying God; but saying also to infinite majesty, "Quare non "defendis sanguinem nostrum, qui hodie pro tuo nomine "effusus est?" Gesta Francorum, p. 13. The reader must already have recollected and coincided in the opinion of Lord Bacon, that "it were better to have no opinion of God at all, "than such an opinion as is unworthy of him; for the one is "unbelief, the other is contumely: and certainly superstition is "the reproach of the Deity." Essay 17.

Better be dumb than superstitious:
Who violates the Godhead is most vicious
Against the nature he would worship: He
Will honour'd be in all simplicity,
Have all his actions wonder'd at, and view'd
With silence and amazement; not with rude,

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The loathsome consequences of battle formed no impediment to the display of other horrors of war. The savage warriors before Antioch broke Turkish sepulchres into pieces, and erected a fortress near the gate of the bridge, from the ruins of the mansions of the dead; emulating the hill of bones before Nice, which had been converted into a tower of hostility. The count of Tholouse accepted the dangerous, and therefore honourable, office of guarding it; and this exhibition of bravery silenced a thousand calumnies of feigned sickness which the soldiers had spread against him. His coldness and severity of temper made him unpopular; but he was no longer branded with the charge of avarice, when he gave to Adhemar and some other chiefs five hundred marks of silver, to be distributed among such of their soldiers as had lost their horses in the conflict.* The late successes gave courage to the councils of the princes; and they resolved that the gate of St. George on the west, between the mountain and the Orontes, should be blockaded. The coffers of Raymond again were opened, the works were raised, and Tancred

> Dull and profane, weak and imperfect eyes,
> Have busy search made in his mysteries.
>
> Ben Jonson.

* Raymond, 147. Archb. of Tyre, 701, 702. Baldric, 107.

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CHAP. V. accepted the post of honour. The army found that the firmness of the young warrior was equal to his bravery; and that he was as vigilant in defence, as prompt in attack. Indeed* the Turks were now completely shut up, and unable to obtain provisions or wood, or other necessaries. They had been usually supplied by the Armenians and Syrians from the mountains: but Tancred intercepted the succours of corn, wine, and oil, and turned them to the benefit of the Christian camp.† The country round Antioch was in possession of the besiegers; and as the season of spring was returned, communications were opened with distant countries. By gifts proportioned to their various stations, Baldwin, lord of Edessa, conciliated his fellow crusaders, who had often breathed indignation at his infidelity to the sacred cause, and had repined at his comparative prosperity and ease. An Armenian prince, whose territories adjoined those of Baldwin, sent a magnificent tent as an offering of friendship to the duke of Lorraine. But Pancrates, who was always anxious for revenge against Baldwin and his friends, captured the present, and sent it as his own gift to Bohemond. Prudence

* Guibert, 506. Archb. of Tyre, 702.

† Gesta, 14. Mus. Ital. i. 171, 175.

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should have dictated to Godfrey a dignified indifference on the matter: but with his most intimate companion, Robert of Flanders,* he repaired to the tent of Bohemond, and demanded the present. The avaricious Italian refused to restore it. Godfrey laid his complaint before the council; and a piece of silk excited the passions of thousands of men, who had despised all worldly regards, and had left Europe in order to die in Asia. The justice of Godfrey's claim was apparent, and could not but be acknowledged. Bohemond listened to the general opinion, delivered the tent to the duke, and peace was restored.†

The prosperity of the Christians was checked by the news of the preparations which the sultan of Persia was making for the relief of the besieged. The alarm among the Crusaders increased as the rumour spread, and importance was given to popular fear, by the retreat of Stephen, count of Chartres, who pleaded illness and the salubrity of Alexandretta. But the people attributed his retirement to any other cause rather than that of corporal infirmity. He took with him four thousand men. This great secession roused the princes to the

Retreat of the count of Chartres.

* Robert of Flanders was always the fidus Achates of Godfrey.

† Albert, 242.

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enactment of new laws for the prevention of desertion, and for the enforcement of discipline: and accordingly he who retired without the leave of the council was to be treated as an homicide, and as one who had committed sacrilege.* The report of aid from Persia animated the besieged into new acts of treachery. They felt the miseries of war, and they solicited a truce, in order, as they said, to arrange the conditions which should accompany the cession of the place. It was agreed, then, that the horrors of the sword should be stayed, and the mutual promises were ratified by religious sanctions. The city's gates were opened, and there was a free and familiar communication between the various people. The concluding day of the truce arrived, and no offers of capitulation were made by the Turks. On the contrary, they violated their oath, and seized as a prisoner the person of Walo, a noble cavalier, who had like many of his comrades been wandering in the groves of Antioch. The armed dogs, as an indignant observer calls the Moslems, tortured the Christian, and tore his body to pieces.†

The Latins recommenced the siege with indignation and fury, and the defence became

* Archb. of Tyre, 703. † Robert, 52, 53.

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Antioch taken by stratagem.

every day more feeble. But when it was least needed, stratagem was called in to the aid of valour. Near the gate of St. George were three towers, which were guarded by three brothers of a noble Armenian tribe, and it was not considered that any dignity was lost, when their family took the occupation and name of Beni Zerri, or the sons of armour-makers.* At the time of the siege of Antioch, Phirouz was the head of the race. He was a man of a low and sordid disposition. He made religion subservient to his passions, and deserting the faith of his family, he united with the Muselmans. His abilities procured him the favour of Baghasian, and he was entrusted with military and civil charges. There was an affinity between the characters of Bohemond and Phirouz, and in various periods of the siege the accidents of war brought the Italian and the Armenian into intercourse. The magnificent promises of the former seduced the latter from his allegiance, and it was stipulated that the towers should be delivered to the Christians.† Bohemond found that Godfrey, Hugh, and the two Roberts would

* Archb. of Tyre, 704. Albert, 244. Tudebodus, 792.

† Robert and Fulcher, as if ashamed that Antioch should be taken by stratagem, assert that Jesus Christ appeared repeatedly to Phirouz in dreams, and exhorted him to deliver up the city to the Christian army.

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CHAP. V. accept the cession of Antioch upon any terms; but the count of Tholouse was as ambitious as the Prince of Tarentum, and suspected sinister motives in all his actions. In a general council, then, Bohemond declared the necessity of a change of measures for the capture of Antioch. For seven months the army had suffered every human misery. Blood had been shed, famine had devastated the crusading ranks, and Antioch still remained in the hands of the enemy. The hosts of Persia were approaching, and would compel the Franks to raise the siege. As bravery had been unsuccessful, it was politic to resort to other means to get possession of the city before the arrival of the Persians; and as an incitement to the enterprises of the chiefs, the principality of Antioch ought to be the reward of skill and wisdom. The count of Tholouse was the only prince who refused his assent to this proposition.* He speciously declared that all the Crusaders were brothers and equals, and that the fruits, as well as the dangers of war, should be in common. The news of the approach of the Persian succour became every day more alarming, and policy could only sug-

* This is William of Tyre's account, 705. Baldric and Tudebodus state that the proposition was refused by all, p. 109, 792. To this account Guibert inclines, p. 509.

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gest that the city should be immediately taken, or that a large part of the army should repel the menacing foe. The council again was summoned, the united assent of the duke of Lorraine, the count of Vermandois, and the two Roberts, overbore the opposition of the selfish Provençal; and it was resolved that no sentiments were so worthy of being adopted as those of the prince of Tarentum. Jerusalem, and the holy land, were the places for which the Croises had left Europe; and it would be dishonourable to the crusading cause, if the army should perish for want of generosity to an individual. Bohemond then revealed his friendship with Phirouz, and the offer of the renegado to deliver to him the city. The princes promised to their brother chieftain that Antioch, in the event of the conquest of it, should be his prize; but the gift was fettered by the condition that if the emperor Alexius should come to the succour of the Christians, Bohemond must acknowledge his feudal superiority.*

* Robert, 54. Baldric, 108. Guibert, 509—10. William of Tyre, 705—7. It appears from Rad. Cad. 309, that Bohemond sent Tancred and his troops away from Antioch at the time of these proceedings, and that Tancred did not know of them till Antioch was taken. Tancred was highly indignant, and declaimed strongly against Bohemond's jealous and selfish temper. Baldric says that Tancred knew all; but Baldric's

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By the medium of a son of Phirouz, who was a Turkish spy in the Christian camp, the plot for the completion of the treachery was settled. The cause of the rumour cannot be discovered, but it soon was believed in Antioch that a plan was in action of delivering the city to the Christians. The remnants of the Greeks and Armenians had always been objects of apprehension to Baghasian; their motions were regarded with suspicion, and the Turkish council resolved that shortly all the tributaries should be put to death, if the Persian succour did not arrive. Baghasian was unlimited in his confidence to Phirouz, and the courtiers were jealous of the influence of the renegado. They uttered their suspicions of his loyalty, and he was summoned to their presence. Before they could charge him with treachery he rose in the character of a brother senator, and professed himself a friend to any measures of precaution that might be adopted. He thought that the guards of the towers should be changed, and by that measure all secret intercourse between the besiegers and the besieged would be cut off. Advice so judicious, so apparently patriotic, checked the suggestions of calumny,

authority in a case of this nature cannot be put in opposition to that of Tancred's biographer.

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and Baghasian and his council declared their concurrence. The next morning was the time appointed for the change of guard, but in the interval the work of treason was to be executed. In the repose and silence of the night, Bohemond with his troops advanced close to the walls. He sent a trusty friend to watch the signs of Phirouz. The renegado and the soldier were conversing, while the officer on watch passed the tour. The soldier retired: Phirouz presented himself, and received from the officer warm commendations for strict attention to duty. The Christian returned to his comrades with the news that the plot was ripe for execution. The traitor lowered some ropes. But neither threats nor entreaties could instigate the Latins to enter on this novel and hazardous enterprize, and at length Bohemond himself mounted the walls. No one followed him, and he was compelled to return to his troops, in despair of the success of his undertaking. His re-appearance dissipated the panic; and all the Croises were now anxious for the escalade. In their impatience the ladder broke, and only sixty soldiers reached the ramparts. But these men prepared the way for their friends with dreadful effect. They seized ten towers, and slew the guards. A postern was then opened, and the whole

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3 June, 1098.

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army entered the city with all the ferocity of triumphant religious zealots, and the insolence which fills the mind when an obstinate resistance has been overcome. The banner of Bohemond was hoisted on a principal eminence; the trumpets brayed the triumph of the Christians; and with the affirmation, "Deus id vult!" they commenced their butchery of the sleeping inhabitants. For some time the Greeks and Armenians were equally exposed * with the Muselmans: but when a pause was given to murder, and the Christians became distinguished from the infidels, a mark was put on the dwellings of the former, and their edifices were regarded as sacred. The dignity of age, the helplessness of youth, and the beauty of the weaker sex, were disregarded by the Latin savages. Houses were no sanctuaries; and the sight of a mosque added new virulence to cruelty. If the fortune of any Moslem guided him safely through the streets, the country without the walls afforded no retreat, for the plains were

The Croises massacre the inhabitants.

* "The Christians issuing in, and exasperated with the "length of the siege, so remembered what they had suffered, "that they forgot what they had to do, killing promiscuously "Christian citizens with Turks. Thus passions, like heavy "bodies down steep hills, once in motion, move themselves, "and know no ground but the bottom."—Fuller, Holy War, book i. ch. 17.

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scoured by the Franks. The citadel alone was neglected by the conquerors; and in that place many of their foes secured themselves, before the idea was entertained of the importance of subjugating it. The number of Turks massacred on this night was at least ten thousand. The fate of Baghasian was melancholy and unmerited. He escaped with a few friends through the Crusaders' camp, and reached the mountains. Fatigue, disappointment, and the loss of blood from the opening of an old wound, caused a giddiness in his head, and he fell from his horse. His attendants raised him; but he was helpless, and again became stretched on the ground. They fancied, or heard the approach of the enemy; and, as in moments of extremity the primary law of nature is paramount, they left their master to his fate. His groans caught the ear of a Syrian Christian in the forest, and he advanced to the poor old man. The appeal to humanity was made in vain; and the wretch struck off the head of his prostrate foe, and carried it in triumph to the Franks.*

* Robert, 55. Baldric, 109—113. Albert, 244—247. Guibert, 510, 511. Archb. of Tyre, 710—712. Rad. Cad. 308. De Guignes, II. 91—93. Malmsbury, 434. Orderious Vitalis, 737. Tasso makes Phirouz die before Jerusalem. But in

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The attendants and followers of the camp pillaged the houses of Antioch as soon as the gates had been thrown open; but the soldiers did not for a while suffer their rapacity to check their thirst for blood. When, however, every species of habitation, from the marble palace to the meanest hovel, had been converted into a scene of slaughter, when the narrow streets and the spacious squares were all alike disfigured with human gore, and crowded with mangled carcasses, then the assassins turned robbers, and became as mercenary as they had been merciless. The city was rich in most of the various luxuries of the east; but her money had been expended in supplying the inhabitants with provisions during the siege. Some stores of corn, wine, and oil, had not been exhausted; and the Crusaders, changing their fierceness for the more civilized vices of debauchery and hypocrisy, ate and drank, rendering thanks to God. The discipline of the camp was relaxed; unbounded license was given to the passions; and, in the midst of the general profligacy, the miracles which heaven had wrought for its

truth he survived the siege, returned to Antioch, and drew to his party many disaffected Christians. He betrayed them however to the Muselmans; he abjured Christianity; and died a robber.

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people were forgotten, and its judgments were despised.* † CHAP. V.

The new citizens were called to war a very few days after they had achieved their conquest. The defeat of the sultan of Nice, and the devastation of the Turkish countries, had filled the oriental courts with surprise and alarm. The emperor of Persia summoned all his hosts to scourge the enemies of the Prophet; and the people, in every degree of subjection to him, formed under the banners of religion. His minister and greatest officer, Kerboga, emir of Mosul, commanded the levies. Kilidge Arslan collected his broken forces, and joined them; and the united army consisted of, at least, two hundred thousand men.† Fortunately for the Crusaders, the wisdom of Kerboga's measures had not been equal to his personal bravery. Treating his foes with orthodox Muselman contempt, he had not foreseen the fall of Antioch. His march was through the principality of Edessa; and he had halted for the purpose of annihilating the power of Baldwin. But three weeks had been devoted in vain to incessant attacks

The Persians attack the Croises.

* Albert, 247. Guibert, 511. Gesta, 567. Rad. Cad. 308.

† Such is the statement of Albert of Aix. Tudebodus (p. 791) numbers the Persians at three hundred and sixty-five thousand men; and Ralph of Caen (p. 319) at four hundred thousand.

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when intelligence of the fall of the Syrian capital compelled the Persians to cross the Euphrates, and hasten to the relief of their oppressed allies.*

The hosts of the Moslem world pitched their tents round the fallen capital; and reinforced the citadel which their enemies had so inconsiderately neglected.† Still the Turks might have been subdued, and the fortress might have been taken, if the Christians had had only men and walls to contend with. But a few days of luxury had consumed all the provisions which were in the city; and when the Persians appeared, the Crusaders sought in vain to accumulate fresh stores from the devastated vicinity. The sword was without, and famine was within; and the Moslems, too, resolved to conquer by starvation, if their scimitars should fail. They took the port of St. Simeon, burned the ships, and by these means, the cities on the shores of the Mediterranean could no longer contribute to the support of the Christians. All the distresses of the Crusaders before the walls were nothing, when compared with the horrors they suffered now that they were in possession of the city. So long as there was

The Latins are blockaded—second famine.

* Baldric, 111, 112. Albert, 243. Guibert, 302.

† Albert, 248—250. Archb. of Tyre, 714. Du Cange, note on the Alexiad, p. 88. Malmsbury, 434.

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any food for the horses, the blood of these animals was drank, and then their flesh was devoured. Vegetables the most nauseous were greedily eaten; they boiled the leaves of trees; the skins of animals, and even the leather of the military accoutrements, were stewed for food. Nothing, indeed, was so foul and insipid in itself, but that famine rendered it palatable. Misery levelled all natural as well as artificial distinctions. The courage of the warrior, the pride of the nobleman, the dignified virtue of the matron, and the retired bashfulness of the virgin, all were reduced to the level of the ignoble and the vicious, by the cravings of unsatisfied and increasing hunger. The people begged and clamoured for food. All ranks felt the distress alike; and even Godfrey was at last left without horses or money.* According to one writer, however, the poor wretches did not cease to cry, "Not "unto us, O Lord, but unto thy name be "the praise!" or to reflect without pleasure, that the Lord chastens every son whom he receives.† Resignation was perhaps the virtue of some; but all the army had not the courage CHAP. V.

* Robert, 59. Baldric, 117. Raymond, 153. Guibert, 518. Archb. of Tyre, 715—717.

† Baldric, 117. Tudeb. 798. Alexiad, p. 88, note. De Guignes, livre 13.

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of martyrs; and their minds were only kept from the horrors of despair by the faint hope that they might ere long be relieved by some new battalions of Crusaders. A great many soldiers escaped over the walls. Among those whose names have been preserved, were William and Alberic of Grantmenil; the former of whom had married a sister of Bohemond; and as the latter was both an ecclesiastic and a soldier, he was attached to the holy cause from a double motive. William the carpenter disregarded the oath which he had taken in the presence of all the army, and fled. A few obscure names are mentioned; and the indignant archbishop of Tyre exclaims, that he remembers not the rest; for as their names are struck out of the holy volume of life, they cannot be inserted in his book.*

More desertions.

The fugitives, foiled in their hope of escaping in a vessel at the port of St. Simeon, took the road to Alexandretta; and after a series of

* Tudebodus, 799. Baldric, 117. Albert, 251. Archb. of Tyre, 717. "Alii multi quorum nomina non tenemus; quia "deleta de libro vitæ, præsenti operi non sunt inserenda." The fugitives let themselves over Antioch by means of ropes. Baldric tells us that their hands were dreadfully excoriated; not an unlikely circumstance; and the knowledge of it must have been grateful to their indignant, and perhaps envious brethren, who also amused themselves with calling them the rope-dancers.

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dangers, not much less calamitous than those which they had fled from, they joined the count of Chartres. Their miserable appearance spoke too well the state of the Latins before Antioch, and lest they should be thought deserters on frivolous causes, they exaggerated the afflictions of their brethren. The seal appeared now to be set on the desperation of the crusade, and Stephen, therefore, commenced his retreat to Europe. At Philomelia, in Phrygia, he met the emperor of Constantinople, who was advancing in order to enjoy the anticipated conquests of the Latins; or, as his daughter declares, to aid his feudal subjects in the siege of Antioch. Fresh parties of European Crusaders had shortly before that time arrived at the Bosphorus, and had mixed themselves with the well appointed army of Alexius. The stories of the fugitives had the same effect on the imperial mind as on that of Stephen. The first and great object of his policy was to preserve the empire in its present condition, and not to waste its resources in distant expeditions. Yet the emperor's army was numerous, and if he had been a brave prince, he would have aided the Latins in dissipating the clouds of Tartars. But prudence or fear predominated; gratitude never whispered that the Crusaders should be requited for the conquest of Nice, and the

Alexius abandons his allies.

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return to Constantinople was ordered. The tears of emulation, the reproaches, the supplications of Guy, a brother of Bohemond, were all without effect, and the youthful warrior could not even obtain permission for himself and his friends to proceed to Antioch. All the European champions of the cross were compelled to march in the emperor's ranks. Their fury against him soon turned into execrations against heaven. Humility and resignation are no qualities of fanaticism. That disease springs as often from pride as from warmth of imagination, and its votaries fancy themselves not so much the agents as the supporters of Providence. They rise to an equality with God, and when his measures accord not with their ideas, they blaspheme and revolt from their duty. For the first three days of their return, the bishops, abbots and presbyters, abstained from the usual prayers and spiritual exercises; and the feelings which they shewed in sullenness and murmurs, the common people expressed in open indignation. It was impiously said, that no man will henceforth become the pilgrim or soldier of God. If heaven be omnipotent, why does it consent to these things?*

Impiety of some new Croises.

* Tudebodus, 799. Robert, 60. Baldric, 118, 119. Albert, 253. Archb. of Tyre, 718, 720. Alexiad, p. 256-7, and Du Cange's notes.

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Direful effects of Alexius's retreat.

The news of the approach of Alexius had preserved the courage of his allies in Antioch; but when his cowardice was heard of, they consigned him and his army to everlasting infamy, not only on account of their infidelity to obligations, but because they defrauded the people of the cross of those succours which God had provided. Heaven was implored that the Greeks might have their portion of eternal torments with the great betrayer Judas. Despondency weighed down some of the bravest minds, and if Godfrey, Raymond, and Adhemar, had not displayed heroic firmness, the soldiers would have been abandoned, and many of the chiefs would have endeavoured to escape by sea to Europe. The common people sunk into melancholy and despair. Neither supplications nor severity could induce them to remain at their posts, and they shut themselves up in their habitations. Bohemond set fire to the houses: the soldiers ran to their quarters, and a military appearance was resumed. Two thousand private dwellings and churches were destroyed in this dreadful experiment. The flames spread with uncontrolable rapidity, and Bohemond apprehended that the seat of his principality would be ruined: or, as some of the early writers state, that the church of St. Peter and

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St. Mary would be visited with the same desolation.*

The Christians saved by some superstitious frauds.

Though the fire had driven the soldiers to their posts, violence could give no spirit to attenuated bodies or despairing minds. The ruin of the hopes of Christendom appeared inevitable, and no man could anticipate the recovery of the sacred places. Both valour and stratagem had done their best. One resource, more powerful than all the others, yet remained to be tried, and that resource was superstition. A Lombard clerk preached to the clergy and laity, the noble and ignoble, and endeavoured to dissipate their fears. He said that he remembered a pious priest in Italy, who, journeying to perform mass before his diocesan, was encountered by a pilgrim, who anxiously inquired his opinion on the subject of so many princes and nations going in holy company to the sepulchre at Jerusalem. He replied, "Some people think that the design "has been inspired by God himself: others, "that the action springs entirely from the levity "of the French character; and that the misfor-"tunes in Hungary and Bulgaria are judgments

* Tudebodus, 798. Gesta, 19. Albert, 253. Guibert, 517. William of Tyre, 720. The biographer of Tancred deplores, in his usual bombastic style, the destruction of the palaces, &c.; and it is curious to remark, that he describes the iron-work of them to have come from England.

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"on them for their want of piety. For my "part, I cannot decide between the conflicting "sentiments." The pilgrim rejoined, "This "expedition does not spring from the levity of "the French people, but it has God for its "author. The names of those are recorded in "heaven as martyrs, who banish themselves "from Europe in the name of Christ, and who "lead a sober and religious life." The presbyter demanded the family and fortunes of the man who spoke with so much decision. "Know, "then," he replied, "I am Ambrose, bishop "of Milan, servant of Christ: and in three "years, the soldiers of the Lord, after having "conquered various nations of barbarians, and "suffered many labours, shall enter Jerusalem "in triumph." The story of the Lombard clerk was received with credulity, both by the chiefs and by the ignorant populace, and served better than a philosophical treatise on resignation, to preserve their patience.* Before the effects of this tale had worn away, another priest swore on the gospels, that while he was at prayers, Jesus Christ, accompanied by his mother and St. Peter, appeared to him, and said, "Knowest thou me?" The priest answered, "No." A cross was then displayed on the head

* Albert, 252.

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CHAP. V. of the Saviour, and the astonished priest acknowledged his Lord. The son of man exclaimed, "I made you masters of Nice, I opened to you "the gates of Antioch: and in return for these "benefits, you have lost your religious name in "infamous debaucheries with Pagan women."* At these words the holy virgin and St. Peter threw themselves at the feet of Jesus, and besought him to have mercy on his votaries. He then said to Peter, "Go tell my people, that "if they will return to me, I will turn to them; "and in five days will give them the help which "they want." The presbyter offered to verify his story by a fiery ordeal; but as the merit of faith rises in proportion to the weakness of testimony, the bishop of Puy required merely a simple oath. Bohemond, Raymond, Godfrey, Hugh, and the two Roberts, swore that they would never desert each other, or fly from the sacred cause; and Tancred shewed his fanaticism or courage in the expression, that he would not abandon the siege of the citadel, or the journey to Jerusalem, so long as sixty

* Strange morality, indeed, as Mr. Ellis observes, is ascribed to the Supreme Being, who declares himself offended, not by the unnecessary cruelties of the crusaders, not by the general profligacy of their manners, so much as by the reflection, that Paynim women were partners of their amours. Specimens of the Early English Poets, i. 99.

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soldiers were in his train.* The succours of heaven were not withheld from any want of devotion in the people. The temples were crowded, and the streets resounded with psalms and hymns. A priest and a secular man were arrested in their flight; the one by his brother's ghost, the other by Jesus Christ himself. Heavenly promises were mixed with reproaches, and the spectre of the mortal man declared, that the disembodied souls of the slain Christians would assist their friends in the day of battle.† When superstition was at its height, a Provençal or Lombard clerk, named Peter Barthelemy, assured the chiefs that St. Andrew had appeared to him in a vision, had carried him through the air to the church of St. Peter, and had shewn him the very lance which had pierced the side of Christ. The saint commanded him to tell the army, that that weapon would ward off all attacks of the enemy; and that the count of Tholouse should support it. He had not at first obeyed the commands of the saint, for he dreaded the charges of fraud and imposture: but at last the threats of heavenly vengeance had overcome his modesty, and he resolved to communicate the important secret. Expres-

* Robert, 60. Guibert, 516, 617.

† Fulcher, 392, 3. Baldric, 119. Gesta, 568.

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sions of joy and thankfulness from the chiefs, rewarded the holy man; and superstition or policy bowed conviction to the tale.*

Raymond, his chaplain, and ten other men, were appointed to fetch the precious relic from its repository. After two days' devotion to holy exercises, all the Croises marched in religious order to the church of St. Peter, and the chosen twelve entered the walls. During a whole day, the people waited with awful anxiety for the production of their sacred defence. The workmen dug in vain, their places were relieved by

* As the count of Tholouse was the foremost in the affair of the lance, to him must be ascribed the honour of inventing the tale. His chaplain narrates it with the same air of conviction as he details historical truths. The two archbishops, Baldric and William, appear to have had no suspicion of fraud. Ralph of Caen (p. 316, 317) affirms that Bohemond, the two Roberts, Tancred, and Arnold, the duke of Normandy's chaplain, discovered the trick, and that the prince of Tarentum delivered their opinions to the council, and put some searching questions to Raymond, on the history of the lance, from the days of Pilate to that time. Fulcher's statement, in Du Chesne, p. 828, exonerates the bishop of Puy from all share in the imposition; it appears he told Raymond it could not be the true lance. Yet Fulcher goes on to say, that when the lance was found, the heretics were convinced. Fuller's remark on the subject of the lance is an excellent one: "But let us know that "heaven hath a pillory whereon Fraus pia herself shall be "punished; and rather let us leave religion to her native "plainness, than hang her ears with counterfeit pearls."

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fresh and ardent labourers, who, like their predecessors, after much toil gave up the cause. When, however, the night came on, and the obscurity of nature was favourable to mysteriousness, Peter Barthelemy descended into the pit, and after searching a decent time, he cried aloud that the lance was found. The chaplain of Raymond seized and embraced the relic; the people rushed into the church; incredulity was banished, and the astonished multitude blamed each other for the previous weakness of their faith.*

In a moment twenty-six days of misery were forgotten. Hope succeeded to despair, courage to cowardice. Fanaticism renewed its dominion, and it was resolved that the sacred lance should pierce the hearts of their enemies, if the Turks would not depart in peace.† Peter the Hermit, accompanied by an interpreter, was sent on this expedition of mercy. The sultan received him with all the splendour of oriental

Embassy of the Hermit to the Persians.

* Baldric, 119. Albert, 254. Raymond, 150, 1. Fulcher, 391. William of Tyre, 721.

† Anna, confounding Christian names, makes Peter the Hermit the finder of the relic: and, fancying that the lance was at Constantinople, she supposes that the thing which was found was one of the nails which pierced the Saviour on the cross. Alexiad, 258, 259. Du Cange's notes.

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CHAP. V. magnificence,* but the fanatic was undaunted, and indeed so contemptuous was his demeanor, that his character of ambassador alone preserved his life. His language was as haughty as his manner. The Turks must immediately quit a country, which, by the beneficence of St. Peter, belonged to the faithful. God befriended the Croises, and he would punish those who infringed the rights of his people. If the Moslems would acknowledge the divine will, they might retire to their country with their baggage and goods; and if they would abjure their false religion, they might become the brethren of the Christians by baptism, and even Antioch and its territory should be theirs. But if they persisted in their iniquity and infidelity, the swords of the Franks would convince them on whose side justice and heaven stood. Astonishment at the effrontery of Peter possessed all the auditors, and a storm of rage broke from the Persian general. "We despise and abhor the "idolatry of your religion. But if you will "acknowledge that there is only one God, and "that Muhammed is his prophet, we will feed "and clothe your wretched bodies. If, how-"ever, you dare to propose conditions to con-

* Malmsbury says (345) that Kerboga was playing at chess, and did not let the game stop.

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"querors, we will with our swords humble CHAP. V.
"the pride of your nation. Slavery and death
"is the appointed lot of those who dispute the
"right of the Turks to a land which they had
"taken from the effeminate Greeks." The companion of the Hermit continued the discourse, and still further inflamed the mind of Kerboga. The ministers of the Croises were contemptuously dismissed, and the menacing fierceness of their foe urged them to make a speedy return to the camp.*

Prudence of Godfrey.

The soldiers as well as the chiefs crowded around Peter when he rejoined them, and anxiously inquired whether their fate were peace or war. The Hermit told his tale, and began to be eloquent in his description of the pride and power of the Persians; but the prudent Godfrey, dreading the contagion of the terrors of the ambassador, drew him to his tent, and heard the details in private. Indignation at the contumely of the Moslems spread through the city, and the soldiers prepared to chastise the enemies of God. They polished their shields and sharpened their swords. What few provisions they had left, they freely gave to each other; and their horses (only two hundred) were allowed a

Preparations for battle.

* Robert, 62. Baldric, 118. Guibert, 520. Archb. of Tyre, 721, 722. Tudebodus, 800.

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CHAP. V. double portion of provender. Temporal cares did not possess them wholly. They sung hymns, they prayed, made religious processions, confessed one to another, and, in receiving the sacrament of the holy supper, they felt their anger kindled against the impious despisers of the efficacy of the death of Christ. The clergy were seen in every church, and among each band of soldiers, promising forgiveness of sins to those who fought bravely. The leaders of the army, the bishops, and particularly the pious Adhemar, poured not their blessing only, but largesses of money and provisions; and now the people, who had seemed just before pale, wan, and spirit-broken, appeared with a bold and martial front, anticipating nothing but victory. Religion had changed all. Every one felt that he was the man of God, and that, assisted by the lance of his Saviour, he should discomfit his foes.*

Battle of Antioch, 28 June, 1098.

The next day was the day of battle, and the religious courage of the army was animated by the circumstance that it was the festival of the church to the memory of St. Peter and St. Paul. All the troops, except the count of Tholouse, and a few of his Provençals, who were left to watch the citadel, quitted Antioch,

* Archb. of Tyre, 722, 3. Guibert, 321. Albert, 255.

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and formed in battle array on the plain before the city. The van was preceded by the priests and monks, with crucifixes in their hands, praying aloud for the protection of heaven, and exclaiming in the language of the Psalmist, "Be "thou a tower of defence to those who put their "trust in thee." Every event was turned into a favourable omen, and even the morning dew scented with the perfume of roses was supposed to be a special favour from heaven. The army marched in twelve divisions, in honour of the twelve apostles. To Hugh count of Vermandois, as the bearer of the papal standard, was assigned the distinction of leading the van. Robert of Flanders commanded the second division; Robert of Normandy, and his noble kinsman, Stephen, earl of Albemarle, the third. The bishop of Puy led the fourth, and this division was the most honourable of the twelve, for it carried the head of the sacred lance. The fifth, sixth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh divisions were conducted by brave and celebrated generals; the seventh and eighth were led by Godfrey and Tancred; and the division of reserve was under the command of Bohemond. The bishop of Puy, clothed in armour, and bearing the lance in his right hand, advanced from the ranks, and exhorted the champions of the cross to fight that day as brothers in Christ, as the

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sons of God. "Heaven," he continued, "has "pardoned you for your sins, and no misfor- "tune can happen to you. He who dies here "will live hereafter, because he seeks eternal "glory. Be brave of heart, for the Lord will "send to you legions of saints. Go then "against your enemies, who are more prepared "for flight than for combat; go in the name of "the Lord Jesus Christ to battle, and the Lord "God Almighty will be with you." The army shouted their approbation and assent. They then pressed forward to the plain on the other side of the Orontes. Two thousand Turks, the guardians of the iron bridge, were annihilated by the three first divisions, and the whole army formed in two lines between the mountains and the river. Hugh was at the right of the line, and Godfrey on the left. Kerboga had expected the Christians as suppliants, and he learnt only by the destruction of his corps of observation, that they marched as warriors. His movements were directed by skill: he bent his attacks against a part only of the enemy, the division of Godfrey and Hugh; and the sultan of Nice, after having made a circuitous route, fell upon the rear of Bohemond. The Christians opposed no stratagem to the manœuvre of the Turks, but the battle was fought man to man, lance to lance. Tancred hung the event in suspense by

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rescuing the prince of Tarentum; but at last the Franks contended for safety not for victory, and the Saracenian cavalry was mowing away their ranks. In this perilous moment some human figures, clad in white armour, and riding on white horses, appeared on the summit of the neighbouring hills, and the people distinguished the martyrs of St. George, Maurice, and Theodore.* The superstitious, or politic Adhemar ran through the ranks, exclaiming, "behold, soldiers, CHAP. V.

* As the Crusaders were in their own estimation the soldiers of God, they looked for a portion of that supernatural aid which had often in days of old braced the nerves of the Jews. The idea mentioned in the text appears to have been taken from the case of the Maccabees—"And then it happened that through "the city, for the space of almost forty days, there were seen "horsemen riding in the air, in cloth of gold, and armed with "lances like a band of soldiers, and troops of horsemen in "array, encountering and running one against another, with "shaking of shields, and multitude of pikes, and drawing of "swords, and casting of darts, and glittering of golden orna-"ments and harness of all sorts. Wherefore every man prayed "that that apparition might turn to good."—Maccabees, book ii. ch. 5. v. 2—4.

As when, to warn proud cities, war appears
Waged in the troubled sky, and armies rush
To battle in the clouds, before each van
Prick forth the aery knights, and couch their spears
Till thickest legions close; with feats of arms
From either end of heaven the welkin burns.

Milton's Paradise Lost, II. 533, &c.

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" the succour which God has promised you." The men answered him with the cry, "Deus id vult!" Their martial energies revived at this animating shout, and, not waiting for the bright squadron of their celestial allies, they closed their battalions, and bore down upon the Saracens; who, terrified at this unexpected vigour, threw away their arms and fled. So closely did the Christians pursue the steps of Kerboga, that the valiant emir could not rally the troops, or save the Turkish women and children from murder, or his camp from spoliation. The booty was so great, that every one of the conquerors became in a moment far richer than when he assumed the cross; and there fell to the share of Bohemond the splendid tent of Kerboga, which, like the one sent by Harun al Raschid to Charlemagne, could (it is said!) contain two thousand men, was divided into streets like a town, and fortified with towers. One thousand five hundred camels were found in the camp, and the cavalry mounted themselves on Arabian horses. The citadel of Antioch followed the fate of the covering army, and surrendered: the chief and three hundred of the garrison embraced Christianity, and remained in the town; the more faithful Moslems were conducted with their arms and equipage into the next Muselman territories. The ambition of the count of Tho-

Victory of the Croises.

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louse was the only interruption to the general rejoicing. His banner floated on the walls, when the army re-entered the city in religious procession; but the other chiefs, indignant at his selfishness, supported the prince of Tarentum, in his rights to the full and free possession of his prize.*

After the defeat of the Turks, the Christians were not so much occupied by the exultation of success, or the enjoyment of the plunder, as to fail in their care of religion. Superstition had saved the cause of fanaticism; and the priests

* Tudebodus, 801, 802. Gesta, 21, 22. Robert, 63, 66. Baldric, 120, 122. Albert, 255, 258. Raimond, 154—5. Guibert, 521, 523. Archb. of Tyre, 723, 726. Malmsbury, a writer not remarkable for superstitious credulity, is totally silent on the subject of the lance, but says that in this battle it is not to be denied that the martyrs assisted the Christians, as the angels in old times did the Maccabees. Malms. p. 435. In one of the Crusaders' circular letters to the princes and people of Europe, the loss of the Turks at the battle of Antioch is fixed at sixty-nine thousand men; and that of the Christians at ten thousand. Not a word is expressive of the deaths by famine and disease; but strong applications are made for men and provisions. Martenne, Vet. Scrip. Amp. Coll. i. 568. But in another circular letter, preserved in the Thes. Nov. of Martenne (vol. i. p. 281), the princes gloss over their misfortunes at Antioch, by saying that the Christians had only two hundred horses left. The distresses subsequent to the capture are mentioned at length. The bishop of Litchfield, mentioned in a former page, was slain at the battle of Antioch.

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CHAP. V. neglected not their interest or their duty in the moment of victory. The churches were restored to their pristine dignity, and clergy were appointed for the decorous solemnization of religious rites. Those temples, which had been turned into mosques, or, by deeper contempt, into stables, were cleansed of their pollutions. The public spoil furnished gold and silver, materials for crosses, candelabras, and other ornaments of the church. The Greek patriarch was reinstated in his honours; and the Latin clergy professed they would rather serve under him than elect a new superior, and by that means act contrary to the canons of the church, and the example of the saints and fathers.*

* This yielding of power to decorum did not last long, for in two years the Greek patriarch was obliged to retire to Constantinople; and the Latin priests made Bernard, a chaplain of the bishop of Puy, their patriarch. Archbishop of Tyre, 727, &c. Demster says, that the Scotch annals declare this Bernard to have been a Scotchman, who, after the council of Clermont, had preached the Crusade in Scotland, and led his recruits to Antioch. Accolti, p. 175.

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CHAP. VI.

THE REDEMPTION OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

Embassy to Alexius—Desertion of the count of Vermandois—Delay of the Croises at Antioch—Vices of the Croises—A pestilence—Death of Adhemar—Letter to the Pope—Politics of the Chiefs—Further delays of the chiefs—Cannibalism of the Crusaders—The soldiers, but not the leaders, anxious to proceed—The Croises march—Treachery of the count of Tholouse—Discovery of the fraud of the lance—Politics of the Croises with Alexius and the caliph—The Crusaders' first view of Jerusalem—Retrospect—State of the holy city—Invested by the Croises—Horrid drought in the Latin camp—Manners of the Franks—Procession round Jerusalem—The city stormed—and taken—First Massacre—Cruelty of Godfrey—His piety—Second Massacre.

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Embassy to Alexius.

WHILE the clergy were reviving Christianity in Antioch, the princes of the Crusade deliberated on the temporal affairs of their cause. Their indignation against the cowardice of the emperor Alexius was yet alive; and they resolved that Hugh, count of Vermandois, and Baldwin,

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count of Hainault, should in the name of all the holy warriors, censure him for his impiety against God, and his treachery to man. His desultory, wavering conduct, and his shrinking from all zealous co-operation with them, had dissolved a connection, of which reciprocal aid formed the basis. The ambassadors directed their course through Asia Minor; but in the neighbourhood of Nice, the count of Hainault fell into Turkish snares; and his friend alone reached Constantinople. Alexius rejoiced at the defeat of the Turks, for they were enemies of all classes of Christians. He heard the narrative of the misery of the Crusaders with equal joy; for in their weakness he contemplated his own security. He derided their threatenings as the ravings of impotence; and their denunciations of heavenly wrath were scorned by an unprincipled usurper. The count of Vermandois had not the firm and unyielding courage of the duke of Lorraine; he shrunk from the dangers of repassing Asia Minor; and, as if to justify the Grecian opinion of the versatility and perfidious levity of the Latins, he abandoned his holy cause, and followed the route of the count of Chartres, to France.*

Desertion of the count of Vermandois.

When the ambassadors quitted Antioch, the

* Albert, 260. Archb. of Tyre, 729.

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victorious people were clamorous to proceed immediately to Jerusalem, and accomplish their vow: but the chiefs resolved that popular impatience should be restrained till the month of November. The wounded soldiers required restoration to health, the army repose from its fatigues, before fresh dangers could be encountered. A Syrian summer had already dried most of the springs and fountains round Antioch, and the new deserts which they were to pass could not be anticipated without dread. Three months tranquillity were therefore considered necessary; and the chiefs and their soldiers quartered themselves in the city and its neighbourhood.* Bohemond descended into Cilicia, and received the submission of Tharsus, Adana, Mamistra, and Anzarba. The emir of a neighbouring fortress, called Ezaz, implored the succour of the Crusaders against Redouan, sultan of Aleppo. Since the arrival of the Franks many Christian women had been captured by this emir; and he bestowed one of them upon a favourite general, who promised in return to ravage the territories of the Turkish lord. But the forty thousand soldiers of the sultan scattered his feeble bands, and besieged him in his castle. By the counsel of his friend's wife, the

Delay of the Croises at Antioch.

* Baldric, 122. William of Tyre, 729.

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emir implored the alliance and succour of Godfrey. The duke of Lorraine, at first alone, then accompanied by Baldwin, prince of Edessa, and finally by the count of Tholouse and the prince of Antioch, repulsed the lord of Aleppo. So quick and unexpected was his retreat, that many unsuspecting Christians about Antioch were made prisoners; but he repented that he had not retired without molesting the enemy, for Godfrey pursued him with dreadful retaliation. Ezaz became a fief of the Latins; and the cruel conquerors not only deprived their allies of independence, but compelled them to supply the waste which had been made of necessaries in the expedition.*

Vices of the Croises.

These external successes were more than balanced by internal calamities. Discord prevailed among the princes; and they even assisted their people in rapine and theft. Public justice did not restrain private injury, and the will of every man was his only law. The heat of the season, the multitude of human carcasses, and

Pestilence.

the general disorder of the army, bred a pestilential disorder, which spread its ravages with such horrible energy, that in a few months it destroyed more than one hundred thousand persons. A troop of fifteen hundred German

* De Guignes, ii. 97, 8. Archb. of Tyre, p. 730. Albert, 261, 263.

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cavaliers, high in courage, and completely armed, recently landed at the port of St. Simeon, were cut off in a few days. The Crusaders complained that they had not been led to Jerusalem immediately after the fall of Antioch, when, it was said, the fame of the Christians had been sounded over the east, and their course would have been unmolested. But the commands of God had been disobeyed, and he was now punishing his people for their supineness. Of all the victims of the wide-wasting pestilence, none was so deeply lamented as Adhemar of Puy. The people buried their father and protector in the place where the sacred lance had been discovered.* The death of the legate was communicated to the Pope.† The chiefs entreated again and again their spiritual lord, by whose incitement they had taken the cross, to come and complete the work which they had begun. St. Peter had made Antioch the first city of the Christian name, and it was proper that his

Death of Adhemar.

Letters of the Cruises to the Pope.

* Baldric, 123. Raymond, 391. Albert, 261. No person could have been more popular than Adhemar. "He had every "virtue under heaven;" and was, besides, eloquent and facetious, and all things to all men. Baldric, 123.

† The letter was written by the chiefs of the first rank, and the order of precedency was Bohemond, Raymond, Godfrey, Robert of Normandy, Robert of Flanders, and Eustace.

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successor should sit in his cathedral, restore primitive virtue, and banish all heresies.*

While the messengers were traversing Asia and Europe, the plague continued its ravages at Antioch; and Godfrey, with the Lorrainers, went into the principality of Edessa, and dwelt in Turbussel. He there might have found security and peace, but he was grateful to his brother for his hospitality, and in return made successful war on his Turkish neighbours. The count of Tholouse, in order to keep in action the military qualities of his soldiers, besieged the rich city of Albara, on the eastern bank of the Orontes, two days journey south of Antioch. Albara was carried by assault; and the Christians vented their rage against infidelity, by murdering the Turks, and gratified their orthodoxy by the establishment of a Latin church, and the appointment of a Latin bishop.†

Politics of the chiefs.

The selfishness of Baldwin, and the prudence or cowardice of the counts of Vermandois and Chartres, had broken the unity of council and action of the crusading princes. The ambition of Bohemond and Raymond was equally injurious to the general interests. The count of Tholouse would not relax in his opposition to

* Fulcher, 394, 5. † Archb. of Tyre, 731, 733.

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the claims of the Italian on the principality of Antioch, but even took forcible possession of the gates of the bridge and the adjacent towers. The altercations between these chiefs became more warm, as the season approached for the departure of the army to Jerusalem. The other commanders interposed; and there were repeated debates on the subject even in the church, and before the altar of St. Peter. The firmness and artifice of Raymond prevailed. Varnishing his selfishness with honour and religion, he pretended, that, were he to accord with the ambition of Bohemond, he should violate the spirit of his promise of friendship to the emperor; but that, subject to the imperial rights, he would let the cause be determined by Godfrey and the rest, when Jerusalem should be taken. He contended that Bohemond ought to accompany them to the sacred city. These reasonable propositions weighed with the judges, and the public voice was in favour of the postponement of decision.*

Further delays of the Chiefs.

November arrived; the people, more religious than selfish, were ardent in their wishes for the completion of their pilgrimage; the chiefs, however, and even the duke of Lorraine, led them to new wars of ambition, and attempted

* Guibert, 525. Tudebodus, 804.

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to surprise the town of Marra.* But their confidence exceeded their prudence, and their attacks were distinguished by vigour rather than skill. Their scaling ladders were too few, and the enemies were expert in destroying their works by enormous stones, and the Greek fire.† The Christians learnt nothing from experience; their sufferings from famine had been the extreme of misery, and yet they sat down to the siege of Marra with no stores of provisions. They were soon reduced to their old resources of dog's flesh and human carcasses. They broke open the tombs of the Muselmans; ripped up the bellies of the dead for gold, and then dressed and eat the fragments of flesh. The siege must have been raised, had not Bohemond arrived with new succours; the desperate savages

Cannibalism of the Croises.

* Marra was a few miles distant from Albara, or Bira, in the country of Apamea. De Guignes, ii. 98.

† The secret of state, then, had transpired, and it seems that the Turks had discovered the art of making the Greek fire: the most formidable weapon of destruction that was known till the invention of gunpowder. Indeed, in the early part of the tenth century, the Greeks were no longer the only people acquainted with the means of preparing it; for John Cameniata, speaking of the siege of his native city, Thessalonica, which was taken by the Saracens in 904, says, the enemy threw fire into the wooden works of the besieged, which was blown into them by means of tubes, and thrown from other vessels. Beckman's History of Inventions, vol. iv. p. 85.

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mounted the walls in various places, and the city was taken. Their cruelty could not be appeased by a bloodless conquest: extermination, not clemency, marked their victory. The night checked, but did not close their work of blood, for the next day they used their swords with such industrious ferocity, that the most obscure places of the city were filled with carcasses. Many of the inhabitants were guilty of self-slaughter, in order to avoid falling into the hands of the enemy; but the victims both of savageness and of despair were mangled and eaten by their conquerors. Some wealthy citizens had procured a promise of safety from Bohemond, by tempting his avarice; but when streams of blood flowed through the streets, the perfidious chief commanded his prisoners to be brought before him. They who were vigorous or beautiful, were reserved for the slave market at Antioch; but the aged and infirm were immolated at the altar of cruelty.*

* Tudebodus, 806. Robert, 69, 70. Baldric, 125. Albert, 267, 8. Guibert, 527. Archb. of Tyre, 733, 4. Abulfeda III. 317. Abulmahasen in De Guignes, ii. 98. Tudebodus, Robert, Baldric, and Albert mention the facts of the miserly cannibals ripping open dead bodies in expectation of finding gold, and of their eating human flesh. Robert speaks of these things with horror; but Albert drily says, there was nothing surprising in the matter, "for hunger is sharper than a sword." He was much astonished that they preferred the flesh of dogs to that of

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It was the wish of Raymond that Marra should form a part of the bishoprick of Albara: but Bohemond refused to deliver up such quarters of the town as he had conquered, unless his compeer would resign the gate and the towers which he held at Antioch. These dissensions were odious to the people, because they delayed the general work of the Crusades. The complaint was just, that the strength of the army had been wasted in petty conflicts, in wars of selfishness, and not of religion. Disaffection almost amounted to open rebellion, and the soldiers agreed that they would choose commanders who would immediately lead them to Jerusalem. To prevent tumult, the count of Tholouse promised to march in fifteen days. His rival then appeared to be still more impatient, and returned to his city for the purpose of organizing his forces. The days for departure passed, and yet no reconciliation was effected between the contending chiefs. The other princes were slow in acceding to popular wishes, but they disdainfully refused the bribes

Soldiers anxious to march to Jerusalem.

Christians and Saracens. Ralph of Caen (p. 315) also mentions the facts with shame and indignation. See too the Encyclical letter of Daimbert, Godfrey, and Raymond, in Martenne Thes. Nov. vol. i. p. 281. Ralph de Diceto in Twysden, col. 498. Sigibert, Chron. p. 101, ed. Stephens, and Ekhard, p. 522, in the fifth vol. of Martenne, Vet. Scrip. Amp. Coll.

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of Raymond, and his ambitious projects were annihilated by his own soldiers who garrisoned Marra. In his absence they rebelled, and declared that Marra should not, like Antioch, be the occasion of delaying the march. The remonstrances of the family of Raymond, and of the bishop of Albira, were useless, and the fortifications and walls were destroyed. The sick and infirm assisted, and it is reported that so great was the strength which heaven inspired them with in this holy work, that the labour of each individual exceeded the work of three or four oxen. As the count of Tholouse was immoveable by reason and justice, Tancred and some friends went to the gates near the iron bridge of Antioch, and, under the language of friendship, were admitted. They immediately assumed a military appearance, drew their swords from the concealment of their garments, and slew or drove away the soldiers of the count of Tholouse, and Bohemond became sole lord of the city which his artifice had won.*

* Raymond, 160, 161. Baldric, 126. Archb. of Tyre, 735. Malmsbury, 436. The Pisans never lost sight of commercial business: they prevailed on Bohemond to give them a street in Antioch, where they might have their exchange and court of justice, and carry on correspondence with their friends in Italy. Tronchi, p. 35.

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The indignation of Raymond at the destruction of Marra could only vent itself in empty imprecations, for it was the action of the whole people, and could not be punished. He therefore thought it prudent to conciliate his Provençals. The importunities of the people for a vigorous and direct pursuit of hostilities could no longer be resisted, for Marra had been exhausted, and the soldiers made their fell repasts on the bodies of the Saracens which had been buried more than two weeks. Projects of ambition being now useless, Raymond assumed the character of a monk, and marched to Cafarda, in company with his Latin clergy, invoking the pity of God and the assistance of the saints. After a short residence there, he collected his troops, and pursued his crusading route. Robert of Normandy attached himself to his cause; but it is singular that Tancred should march with the foe of his kinsman Bohemond. From the ruined country round Marra they proceeded into more fertile lands, and the Turkish emirs, taught at length the impracticability of resistance, sold provisions to and entered into treaties with the Christians. The standard of Raymond was hoisted on every town for a considerable distance; and that act of possession saved the places from the depredations of subsequent bodies of Crusaders.

The Croises march towards Jerusalem.

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The fortress of Arca, a few leagues to the northward of Tripoli, was known to be richly furnished, and Raymond halted on his journey with the intention of making it his prize. Neither an escalade, nor a long siege, accomplished the subjugation, and the name of the count of Tholouse was repeated no more with terror.*

Two months after the departure of Raymond from Marra, Godfrey and Robert of Flanders, with the rest of the army, left Antioch. Bohemond accompanied them as far as Laodicea. He then returned to his principality, and softened the regret and anger which his desertion of the cause occasioned, by largely contributing to the expenses and conveniences of the journey. Laodicea was in possession of the Greeks, but the Crusaders terrified the governor, and he released the pirates whom Baldwin and Tancred had encountered in Cilicia, and who had since fallen into Grecian thraldom. The duke of Lorraine commanded their small naval force to coast within sight of the army, which would wind its way along the shores. Gabala was the next town which was assailed by the Croises; and the emir attempted by large promises of gold, to induce Godfrey to

1 March, 1099.

* Raymond, 161, 165. Robert, 70. Archb. of Tyre, 734-6.

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Treachery of the count of Tholouse.

raise the siege. But he despised all sordid considerations, and the Turk therefore tried the more easy virtue of Raymond. The count of Tholouse accepted the bribe, and under the plea of the approach of a large army, he requested the co-operation of the duke of Lorraine. The siege of Gabala was raised, but on approaching Arca no Turkish army appeared, and Tancred exposed to the chiefs the cause of the pretended alarm. The young Italian was prompted in this instance by selfish as well as virtuous motives, for Raymond had, through avarice or ambition, withheld from him all pecuniary remuneration for military aid, and he therefore entered into the service of Godfrey.* Raynouard, viscount of Turenne, and some other lords, suddenly attacked Tortosa, and by an ingenious device made the citizens imagine that all the Christian soldiers were before the town. The Muselmans fled in the secresy of the night, and the soldiers entered and pillaged the place.

The treachery of the count of Tholouse diminished his authority; and as his counsels were no longer assisted by the bishop of Puy,

* Albert, 269. Archb. of Tyre, 739. This is the probable account. Raymond d'Agiles, however, considers the accusation by Tancred of Raymond as calumnious, p. 162. The rest of the Latin historians say nothing about the matter.

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Discovery of the fraud of the lance.

even the spiritual reverence which was paid to him, as keeper of the lance, began to decline. The superiority, too, which Raymond and his Provençals claimed on account of their sacred charge, excited the envy and disgust of the army. The prince of Antioch had always been a professed sceptic; and his disbelief had been contagious. To silence incredulity, Raymond on more than one occasion published stories of new revelations from Heaven to Peter Barthelemy; and he declared that death must be the punishment of want of faith. Some examples were made; but they did not produce general conviction. The Latin clergy had no absolute master; and the chaplain of one prince might, with impunity, revile the prodigies which another exhibited. Arnold, chaplain of the duke of Normandy, disclaimed the notion that the lance in the possession of Raymond was the weapon which had pierced the side of Christ. The clerical heretic was eminent both for talents and for profligacy; and though the latter distinction might have injured his judgment on spiritual matters, yet he had a certain energy of character which imposed on the mass of mankind. His representations called for new miracles; and every day some priest or other related his dream of the preceding night, in which he had seen souls dying in hell for

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even an imaginary credulity. Still, however, it was murmured through the camp, that if the tale of Peter Barthelemy were true, Heaven could bear witness to it by some visible interposition. The fanatic offered to convince the world of his alliance with supernatural powers; and in the presence of the assembled soldiers, to undergo the fiery ordeal. A regular course of fasting and prayer preceded the trial; and the aid of Heaven was invoked by the clergy. On the appointed day, Peter rushed into the fire, which was supposed to be the agent of God. But Heaven declared that the lance which he bore in his hand was not the true lance, for the flames enveloped and destroyed him. Some poor wretches, as pertinacious as ignorant, continued to maintain its divinity, and attributed Peter's death to the overbearing pressure of the crowd on his coming out of the fire. Raymond, however, was not able to spread this disposition to credulity; and could therefore boast no more of the special confidence of Heaven.*

Politics of the Croises with Alexius and the caliph.

While the soldiers were raging with theological hatred on the affair of the lance, the deputies who had been sent into Egypt returned accompanied by ambassadors of the caliph.

* William of Tyre, 739. Raymond, 164-9. Gesta, 571.

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The Christians had been treated with Saracenic severity when the Egyptians heard of their reverses; but when the army of the emir of Mosul had fallen, the caliph gave them liberty. Yet he still held the Latins in contempt; and the emperor Alexius encouraged the continuance of hostilities. The deputies of the caliph again proposed that the soldiers of Christ and of Muhammed should bend their united efforts against the Tartarian spoliators: but his politics and religion forbad him from offering the Christians any permanent settlement in Jerusalem. The caliph wished to prepare the way for the acceptance of these terms by large presents to the leaders of the Crusaders: but the presents and the treaty were rejected with indignation. The fury of the Latins was fresh when ambassadors from Alexius reached the camp. The court of Constantinople was filled with astonishment and alarm that Antioch had been given to Bohemond, and commanded the forces to halt till midsummer, when they should be joined by their liege lord. But Godfrey and his council justly reproached their own simplicity for having ever confided in Alexius, and replied to his envoys, that he who had so early broken his oaths to his allies, that he who had violated them whenever they had interfered with

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his interest, had no claim upon the fidelity and obedience of others.*

These embassies and negociations awoke the Croises to a full view of the enmity of the Egyptian caliph, and the perfidiousness of Alexius; and they burned with desire to chastise the Muselmans, and to conquer Jerusalem without imperial aid. They despised the count of Tholouse for wishing to press the siege of Arca; and the army resumed its course for Jerusalem along the sea-coast. The emir of Tripoli attempted to oppose the torrent of invaders; but he was soon compelled to deprecate their vengeance; and though Raymond wished that the town should be sacked, yet mercy prevailed in the minds of the other generals; and they were contented with large supplies of provisions, the liberation of three hundred Christian slaves, and the payment of fifteen thousand pieces of gold.† The soldiers crossed the

* Raymond, 170. Robert, 71. Archb. of Tyre, 740. Mus. Ital. I. 206, 210.

† The Crusaders found near Tripoli sweet-honeyed reeds, called Zucra, which they sucked, and liked so much that they could scarcely be satisfied. Albert's account of this plant (the sugar-cane) is curious. "It is annually cultivated with "great labour. When ripe they pound it, strain off the "juice, and keep it in vessels till the process of coagulation is

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plain of Beritus, went through the country of Sidon,* Athareb or Sarfend, Ptolemais or Acre; and when they arrived at Jaffa, they left their maritime route, and marched to and halted at Ramula.† The Saracens fled from the town; and the Crusaders, in their grateful joy at the possession of its riches, vowed that they would raise a bishopric to the honour of St. George, whose canonized bones reposed there, but whose virtuous spirit had procured them the favour of Heaven.‡ Some

" complete, and hardens in appearance like salt or snow. They " eat it scraped and mixed with bread, or dissolved in water, " and it is to them more pleasing and wholesome than the honey " of bees." P. 270. These remarks are interesting, inasmuch as they are the first on record which any European ever made, concerning a plant the cultivation whereof forms so large a chapter in the annals of human misery.

* In the country round Sidon, the soldiers were incommoded by serpents or tarantulas. But the bite was cured, and the poison charmed away, when a chief touched the part affected. Another mode of cure is mentioned by Albert of Aix (p. 271), which I wonder should have escaped the disgusting diligence of certain wide-searching commentators on Shakespeare. If they had discovered it, they would have dragged it in, as an illustration of some passage or other, not over delicate, in his Comedies.

† The Crusaders were then only sixteen miles from Jerusalem.

‡ An obscure man (quendam Robertum), they appointed the first bishop on this new establishment. Albert, p. 272.

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daring chieftains proposed to march into Egypt, and destroy the head itself of the Muhammedan power; an event which would be followed by the immediate submission of Jerusalem. But the council was overruled on the strong arguments of the length and difficulty of the march, and the inadequacy of a small army to the accomplishment of so great an end.* On the third day after their arrival at Ramula, the soldiers and people took the road to Jerusalem, and soon reached the town, which, in the history of its sacred and its Roman days, had assumed the different names of Emmaus and Nicopolis.

The Croises' first view of Jerusalem.

The holy city was then in view; every heart glowed with rapture; every eye was bathed in tears. The word Jerusalem was repeated in tumultuous wonder by a thousand tongues; and those who first beheld the blessed spot, called their friends to witness the glorious sight.† All passed pains were forgotten; a moment's happiness outweighed years of sorrow. In their warm imaginations the sepulchre was redeemed

* Raymond, p. 173.

† "Discovering the city afar off, it was a pretty sight to "behold the harmony in the difference of expressing their joy; "how they clothed the same passion with divers gestures: some "prostrate, some kneeling, some weeping; all had much ado to "manage so great a gladness."—Fuller's History of the Holy War, book i. chap. 24.

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and the cross triumphed over the crescent. But, with that rapidity of thought which distinguishes minds when strongly agitated by passion, the joy of the stranger, and the fierceness of the warrior, were changed in a moment for religious ideas and feelings. Jerusalem was the scene of the resurrection of Christ; and, therefore, the subject of holy rejoicing: but it was the place of his sufferings also; and true devotion, full of self-abasement and gratitude, is as strongly affected by the causes and circumstances as the consequences of the Great Sacrifice. The Soldier became in an instant the simple pilgrim; his lance and sword were thrown aside; he wept over the ground which, he said, his Saviour had wept over; and it was only with naked feet that he could worthily approach the seat of man's redemption.*

Retrospect.

Of the millions of fanatics who had vowed to rescue the sepulchre from the hands of the infidels, forty thousand only encamped before Jerusalem: and of these remains of the champions of the cross, twenty-one thousand five hundred were soldiers,—twenty thousand foot and fifteen hundred cavalry. The destruction of more than eight hundred and fifty thou-

* Baldric, 129, 131. Raymond, 173. Albert, 270, 274. Archb. of Tyre, 742, 745. Rad. Cad. 319.

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sand* Europeans had purchased the possession of Nice, Antioch, and Edessa. It was not from any dread of the Turks that the armies of the Christians were so numerous; but as religious feelings and not political necessities, had convulsed the world; as the war proceeded from the people, and not from the rulers alone,

* The monkish historians are often perplexed and contradictory on the subject of numbers: but their numerical statements are generally some approaches to truth, and give more distinct ideas to the reader than the phrases, "an innumerable multitude," "the people were as numerous as the sands of the "sea, or the leaves of autumn," &c. &c. In a note to p. 80, we shewed that the number of the rabble, destroyed before the march of the grand army, was a quarter of a million. The people before Nice amounted to 700,000, p. 125. There arrived at Jerusalem only 40,000, including the whole or part of several bands of crusaders, who joined the army at different times, and particularly an English force which had made the voyage by sea in thirty ships, and landed at Laodicea after the battle of Antioch. Raymond, 172, 173. The various reinforcements we will set down at 10,000. The losses by desertion and garrisoning towns were considerable, say 40,000.

Rabble of Peter and others		250,000
Force before Nice, and additions.....	710,000	
Deduct arrivals at Jerusalem, and losses by desertion and garrisoning	80,000	
		630,000
		880,000

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no regulation of princes could limit the number of warriors. A moderate force would have been far more powerful than such unparalleled swarms: it would have been more easily supported, and its compactness would have defied assault. No certain conclusions as to comparative military desert can be drawn from the battle of Doryleum; but the engagement with Kerboga at Antioch shews, that however exhausted the Latins might have been, yet their heroic courage and fanatical spirit could not be successfully opposed by myriads of Moslem votaries. Famine was the active agent of death in the first crusade. The soldiers had heard from preceding pilgrims the horrors of the land journey from Europe to Jerusalem: yet so great was their contempt of the enemy, and so presuming their confidence in the miraculous interposition of Providence, that their religious and military ardour was seldom checked by considerations of policy. The great leaders indeed, took the wise measure of endeavouring to gain the friendship and aid of Alexius, and with that object before them, they were justified in halting at Nice. But after the subjugation of that city, their march to Jerusalem ought to have been direct and immediate, and the acquisition of Turkish territories should have been deferred till after the foundation of

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a Christian state in Palestine. But as the Crusaders approached the holy land, the cause of their armament was in a great measure forgotten. Ambition and avarice swayed the minds of Bohemond, Baldwin, and Raymond, and real religious enthusiasm burnt more strongly in the minds of the soldiers than of the leaders. The popular imagination was inflamed by fanaticism; but religion had not produced any salutary effect on the lives of the people. They viewed it through the medium of their passions; and in the gratification of their love of war they thought that they were performing their duty to God. The rabble which accompanied Peter were ignorant of the necessity of conciliating the emperor of Constantinople, and therefore placed no restraints on their ferocity. But the policy of the chieftains, and the religious principle of not injuring fellow Christians, preserved some order and discipline in the regular armies, till they had entered into the Turkish territories. But their crimes after their departure from Nice were enormous. Fanaticism had stripped morality from religion, and misery completed the triumph of vice over virtue.*

* The archbishop of Tyre is not very prone to exaggerate the vices of his order: yet he tells us that since the death of Adhemar at Antioch, and the bishop of Orange at Marra, the clergy

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State of Jerusalem.

Jerusalem, at the time of the crusade, comprised the hills of Golgotha, Bezetha, Moria, and Acra: and as Mount Sion (one of the early seats of population) was not inclosed within the walls, the city was nearly the figure of a square. The garrison consisted of forty thousand regularly appointed Egyptian troops, commanded by Istakar, a favourite general of the caliph. In this moment of distress, the peasants crowded to Jerusalem with their arms and provisions, and the aggregate of the armed inhabitants and countrymen could not be less than twenty thousand. The Christian tributaries were despoiled; the old men, women, and children were retained, but, in dread of their turbulence, the young and vigorous were banished from the city. The valleys and rocks on the south and the east gave Jerusalem an impregnable appearance, and the Christians resolved to attack the more accessible sides of the north and west. The northern line, from the north-east to the north-west corners, was occupied by the two Roberts, Tancred and Godfrey. The troops of Eustace joined those of his brother, and the line on the west was concluded by the Provençals. In the course of

Invested by the Croises. June 7th, 1099.

had sunk into dissoluteness and profligacy; and that, with the exception of the bishop of Bari, and a few others, they were as criminal as the people. P. 763.

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the siege, the count of Tholouse advanced to Mount Sion, and wished to gain a reputation for piety, by encamping opposite that part of the mount where, it was supposed, the Saviour of the world had eaten his last supper with his disciples.*

The besiegers were ignorant or careless of the superior number of the enemy, and confiding in the justice of their cause, on the fifth day after their encampment made a furious attack. Their bucklers were their only defence against the storms of arrows and fireballs from the besieged. Their impetuous valour hurried them through the Barbican, and they reached the foot of the city walls. The Muselmans were defended more by their fortifications than their courage, and if the Christians had been possessed of a few common military engines, Jerusalem would have been taken. But they fought with their naked swords alone, and when escalading became necessary, one ladder only was found. Some of the foremost mounted, and the battle was carried on at the top of the walls. Victory for a while hovered over the heads of the Christians; but the consternation of the Fatimites dissipated, they re-assembled more quickly than their enemies could accumulate at

* M. Paris, 38, ed. Watts. Robert, 74. Archb. of Tyre, 750.

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the single place of attack, and the ramparts were soon cleared of invaders.* After this ebullition of savage and thoughtless courage, the Christians prepared with some wisdom and prudence for the siege. The princes resolved that every species of military machine should be erected; but the palm and the olive were the only trees which grew in the vicinity, and the propriety was more apparent than the execution of the resolve was practicable, till the soldiers gathered materials from the wood of Sichon, thirty miles from the camp. Some Genoese vessels arrived at Jaffa, and under an escort of the main army, their crews reached Jerusalem. The Italians were well skilled in the useful arts, and assisted by Gaston of Bearn, they erected more formidable machines than the rude soldiers could have raised. The catapult was to assault, the vinea or sow† to undermine the walls, but the most happy issues were anticipated from three immense moveable towers. Each tower had three stories; the

* Archb. of Tyre, 750. Baldric, 131.

† The machine which the ancients call a Vinea, and the Crusaders a Sow, was constructed of slight timbers, the roof covered with thin boards, and wicker-work: the sides, defended with undressed hides, protected the soldiers within it, who, after the manner of a sow, proceeded to undermine the foundations of the walls. Malmsbury, p. 441.

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lowest near the ground, the second on a level with the ramparts, and the third was much more elevated. The soldiers on each floor were armed with the sword, the bow, and hand mangonel. A few days only were occupied in these preparations; but the privations of the Christians were more severe than their labour. Hunger had been the great calamity before Antioch, and drought was the scourge in the camp round Jerusalem. The naked stones of the Siloe mocked their wants, and the bed of the Cedron is in summer an unwholesome morass. Every fountain and receptacle of water had been destroyed by the emir.* The people eagerly watched for the appearance of dew; they dug holes in the ground, and pressed their mouths to the damp clod. Many abstained from food, in hope of mitigating by hunger the pain of thirst.† The chieftains indeed had their wants occasionally relieved by the Christians of Bethlehem and other towns; but those who had no gold to commute for water, were compelled to travel several miles from the camp in search of springs, exposed to the flying squadrons of the Moslems.

Horrid drought in the Croises' camp.

* Turba le fonti e i rivi, e le pour onde
Di venemi mortiferi confonde.
Gerusalemme Liber., c. i. 89.

† See note I.

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When the towers and other works were completed, a day was appointed for a general assault. But Godfrey changed his place of attack, and transported his great tower from the north-west to the part of the north-eastern side of the walls, which was between the gate of Herod and that of St. Stephen. The fortification was low; but the surrounding ditch was so deep, that the Muselmans were justified in not placing their soldiers in that quarter. Raymond's machine too was not brought to the walls; and much remained to be done before Godfrey could make an attack. Three days were spent in filling up the trench: the aid of the Genoese seamen was most efficacious; and all were further stimulated to exertion by the donation of a piece of money to every one who cast three stones into the hollow. At the close of the military preparations religion claimed her dues. Misery had produced disorder and crime; and the clergy complained that in the short space of a month, the character of the Christian soldiers before Jerusalem had become as immoral as it had been in the long and painful siege of Antioch. Superstition was as active as vice; and it was not a single imposition which could make the people question the truth of visions and dreams. Adhemar appeared by night to one of those priests who

Manners of the Croises.

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had been distinguished for his intimacy with the departed saints. He assured him that the crimes of the army had caused the horrible drought; but that if the soldiers would be penitent, Heaven would deliver the sacred city into their hands. The people were awed into virtue by this revelation; and the necessity of union became obvious to the chiefs. As no devotion to God is so acceptable as charity to man, the gallant and disinterested Tancred, in the face of the army, offered friendship to Raymond. After this example of virtue, all minor feuds were hushed, and concord and piety reigned throughout the camp. Peter the Hermit, and Arnold, exhorted the Croises to all religious and martial virtues. The soldiers, completely armed, made a holy procession round the walls. The clergy, with naked feet, and bearing images of the cross, led them in the sacred way. Cries of "Deus id vult!" rent the air; and the people marched to the melody of hymns and psalms, and not to the sound of drums and trumpets. On Mount Olivet and Mount Sion they prayed for the aid of Heaven in the approaching conflict. The Saracens mocked these expressions of religious feeling by raising and throwing dirt upon crucifixes; but these insults had only the effect of producing louder shouts of sacred joy from the

Procession round Jerusalem.

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CHAP. IV.

The city stormed.

Christians. The next morning every thing was prepared for battle; and there was no one who was not resolved either to die for Christ, or restore his city to liberty. Religious zeal did not only infuse courage and vigour into the infirm and young, but even the women took arms. The battering-rams, the cats, and the towers were impelled against the walls; and the Egyptians met the attack with darts, stones, and the Greek fire. The conflict raged throughout the day; and strong as were the fanaticism and courage of the Christians, yet the triumph lay with the besieged. The great tower of the count of Tholouse was much injured; hundreds of men were slain; and, on the approach of darkness, the commanders ordered a retreat. The night was spent in watching and alarm by Christians and Saracens. The walls of the city had many breaches in them; and the camp was weakly defended. But the spring of action was not relaxed; and when the morning arose, all was industry and bustle. The means both of hostility and defence were repaired. Every Christian seemed fresh and fierce; the towers were manned with choice-drawn cavaliers; some mounted the summits and second stories, others were at the bottom impelling the immense masses. The battering-rams were put into motion; and such Croises as were not attached

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to some of these engines, were stationed at a distance, to cover by their darts and arrows the attack of their friends. The besieged repaired their mural breaches, got ready their fire, their boiling oil, and all the dreadful stores of war. For several hours expectation stood in horror for the issue of the raging conflict. About noon the cause of the western world seemed to totter on the brink of destruction; and the most courageous thought that Heaven had deserted its people. At the moment when all appeared lost, a knight was seen on Mount Olivet, waving his glittering shield as a sign to the soldiers that they should rally and return to the charge. Godfrey and Eustace cried to the army that St. George was come to their succour. The languishing spirit of enthusiasm was revived, and the Crusaders returned to the battle with pristine animation. Fatigue and disability vanished; the weary and the wounded were no longer distinguishable from the vigorous and active; the princes, the columns of the army, led the way, and their example awoke the most timid to gallant and noble daring. Nor were the women to be restrained from mingling in the fight: they were every where to be seen in these moments of peril and anxiety, supporting and relieving their fainting friends. In the space of an hour

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the Barbican was broken down, and Godfrey's tower rested against the inner wall. Changing the duties of a general for those of the soldier, the duke of Lorraine fought with his bow. "The Lord guided his hand, and all his arrows "pierced the enemy through and through." Near him were Eustace and Baldwin, "like two "lions beside another lion."* At the hour, when the Saviour of the world had been crucified,† a soldier, named Letoldus of Tournay, leaped upon the fortifications; his brother Englebert followed, and Godfrey was the third Christian who stood as a conqueror on the ramparts of Jerusalem.‡ The glorious ensign of

* Dux Godefridus, non tunc miles, sed sagittarius: cujus manus ad prælium et digitos ad bellum Dominus dirigebat; quoniam sagittis jactis, inimicorum pectora et utraque latera perforabat. Juxta quem fratres ejus Eustachius et Balduinus, velut duo juxta leonem leones, et duros ictus jaculorum et lapidum suscipiebant, et quadruplici fœnore compensabant. Rob. Mon. 75.—I apprehend that Baldwin du Bourg was the person meant. Baldwin, the brother of Godfrey, was at Edessa.

† "William of Tyre findeth a great mystery in the time; "because Adam was created on a Friday, and on the same "day and hour our Saviour suffered. But these synchronismes, "as when they are natural, are pretty and pleasing, so when violently wrested, nothing more poor and ridiculous." Fuller's Holy War, book i. ch. 24.

‡ The statement in the text is the most common one of the order in which the Crusaders entered the city. But other

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Taken, 15 July 1099.

the cross streamed from the walls.* Tancred and the two Roberts burst open the gate of St. Stephen, and the north and north-west parts of the city presented many openings. The news of the success soon reached the ears of Raymond; but instead of entering any of the breaches, he animated his troops to emulate the valour of the French. Raymond's tower had

nations have contested it: the Pisans are positive it was one of their countrymen. Tronchi, p. 35.

* Nothing can be more poetically beautiful than Tasso's description of the appearance of the ensign of the cross on the walls of Jerusalem:—

La vincitrice insegna in mille giri
Alteramente si rivolge intorno:
E par che in lei più riverente spiri
L'aura, e che splenda in lei più chiaro il giorno:
Ch' ogni dardo, ogni stral, che in lei si tiri,
O la declini, O faccia indi ritorno:
Par che Sion, par che l'opposto monte
Lieto l'adori, e inchini a lei la fronte.

Gierusalemme Liber. c. 18, 100.

The glorious ensign, in a thousand wreaths
And folds voluminous, rejoicing, twines:
It seems the wind on it more sweetly breathes;
It seems the sun on it more brightly shines;
That each tossed javelin, each aimed shaft, declines
To strike the staff.—The streets Hosannas sound,—
Floods clap their hands—on mountains dance the pines:
Seems it that Sion, that her green hills round,
Stoop from the clouds their crests, and bend adoring round.

Wiffen's Tasso, vol. i. p. 415.

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only been partially repaired, the Provençals mounted the walls by ladders, and in a short time all Jerusalem was in possession of the champions of the cross. The Muselmans fought for a while, then fled to their temples, and submitted their necks to slaughter. Such was the carnage in the Mosque of Omar, that the mutilated carcasses were hurried by the torrents of blood into the court; dissevered arms and hands floated into the current that carried them into contact with bodies to which they had not belonged.* Ten thousand people were murdered in this sanctuary. It was not only the lacerated and headless trunks which shocked the sight, but the figures of the victors themselves reeking with the blood of their slaughtered enemies. No place of refuge remained to the vanquished, so indiscriminately did the insatiable fanaticism of the conquerors disregard alike supplication and resistance. Some were slain, others were thrown from the tops of the churches and of the

First massacre.

* Thus, as is expressed in a public document often quoted, if the Pope and the Faithful desire to know what the Christians did with the Saracens they pursued in Jerusalem, they are assured that, in the porch and temple of Solomon (the Mosque of Omar,) they rode in the blood of the Saracens up to the knees of their horses. Martenne, Thes. Nov. vol. i. p. 281. See too Ekhard in Martenne, Vet. Script. Amp. Coll. vol. v. p. 523.

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citadel. On entering the city, the duke of Lorraine drew his sword and murdered the helpless Saracens, in revenge for the Christian blood spilt by the Mosléms, and as a punishment for the railleries and outrages to which they had subjected the pilgrims.* But after having avenged the cause of Heaven, Godfrey did not neglect other religious duties. He threw aside his armour, clothed himself in a linen mantle, and, with bare head and naked feet, went to the church of the sepulchre. His piety (unchristian as it may appear to enlightened days) was the piety of all the soldiers: they laid down their arms, washed their hands, and put on habiliments of repentance. In the spirit of humility, with contrite hearts, with tears and groans, they walked over all those places which the Saviour had consecrated by his presence. The whole city was influenced by one spirit; and "the clamour of thanksgiving was loud "enough to have reached the stars." The

Cruelty of Godfrey.

His piety.

* Dux vero Godefridus, non arcem, non aulam, non aurum, non argentum, non spolia, ambiebat: sed cum Francis suis, sanguinem servorum suorum, qui in circuitu Iherusalem effusus fuerat, ab eis vindicare satagebat: et irrisiones et contumelias quas Peregrinis intulerant, ulcisci cupiebat. In nullo autem bello talem habuit occidendi facultatem: nec super pontem Antiochiæ, cum giganteum dimidiavit gentilem. Robertus Mon. p. 75.

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people vowed to sin no more; and the sick and poor were liberally relieved by the great, who thought themselves sufficiently rich and happy in living to see that day. All previous misfortunes were forgotten in the present holy joy. The ghost of the departed Adhemar came and rejoiced; and as at the resurrection of Christ the bodies of the saints arose, so at the resurrection of the temple from the impurity of the infidels, the spirits of many of those who had fallen on the road from Europe to Jerusalem, appeared, and shared in the felicity of their friends. Finally, the hermit who, four or five years before, had wept over the degraded condition of the holy city, and who had commiserated the oppressed state of the votaries of Christ in Palestine, was recognized in the person of Peter.* It was remembered that he had taken charge of the letters from the patri-

* This is the last historical mention of Peter. Of what became of him afterwards the early writers are silent. Thevet (Vies des Hommes Illustres, livre iv. c. 15) attributes the formation of the Latin kingdom in Palestine entirely to his sage counsels. Another lover of the marvellous, puts him on board a ship for France: the vessel would have been wrecked, had it not been for the exertions and prayers of the hermit, and a vow which the count of Claremont made to build a chapel to St. John the Baptist, in case of his safe arrival in France. The chapel was built, and Peter lived near it, in the exercise of all Christian virtues, for a few years. More than a century after his death

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arch to the princes of Europe: it was acknowledged that he had excited their piety, and inflamed their zeal; and the multitude fell at his feet in gratitude for his faithful discharge of his trust, praising God who was glorified in his servant.*

In wars of ambition, subjugated cities, after the ebullition of military lawlessness, become the possessions of the victorious state and public. But in the Crusades each soldier fought from personal motives; and the cause of the war, and not submission to authority, was the principle of union. Personal interest frequently prevailed; and accordingly, each Crusader became the owner of any particular house on the portal of which he had set his buckler.† But

his tomb was opened; and it is almost needless to mention, that time had not committed any ravage on his person. Oultreman, ch. 10.

* The patriarch had lately returned from Cyprus. This account of the religious procession of the Crusaders I have taken almost verbatim from the Archb. of Tyre, 760-1, and the Gesta Francorum, 576. The other historians add little to the narrative of the Archbishop: but they are unanimous in placing the time when the circumstance occurred on the very day of the capture of the city, and immediately after the first massacre. The Archbishop seems to have been incorrect in placing it on the following morning.

† One writer (the second anonymous in Bongarsius, p. 577) says, that in consequence of the soldiers of Raymond being the last who entered the town, they had not the usual share of the

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the treasures of the mosques were converted to the use of the Church and of the poor; and among the splendid spoils of two of the principal temples, were seventy large chandeliers, fifty of silver, and the remainder of gold.*

The massacre of the Saracens, on the capture of the holy city, did not proceed from the inflamed passions of victorious soldiers, but from remorseless fanaticism. Benevolence to Turks, Jews, infidels, and heretics, was no part of the piety of the day: and as the Muselmans in their consciences believed that it was the will of Heaven that the religion of Muhammed should be propagated by the sword, so the Christians were under the mental delusion that they were the ministers of God's wrath on disobedient man. The Latins, on the day after the victory, massacred three hundred men, to whom Tan-

spoil; and that they piled the dead bodies of the Saracens into heaps, and burnt them, in hopes of finding some pieces of gold and silver among the ashes. Ralph of Caen always describes the Provençals of Raymond as mercenary and selfish. In vulgar phrase, they were the Jews of the army. "Franci ad bella, Provinciales ad victualia," was a proverb among the Christians. Rad. Cad. p. 306.

* Malmsbury, p. 443, though a great admirer of Tancred, charges him with having appropriated to himself some of the contents of the temple of Solomon; but that afterwards, reproved by his own conscience, and the reproaches of other people, he restored them.

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cred and Gaston de Bearn had promised protection, and had given a standard as a warrant for their safety. Though the religion of Tancred was as cruel as that of his comrades, though his deadly sword had explored every corner of the mosque of Omar, yet he respected the sacredness of his word; and nothing but the interposition of the other chiefs prevented him from retaliating on the murderers. It was resolved that no pity should be shown to the Muselmans; and the most humane justified the determination by the opinion, that in conjunction with the Saracens of Egypt, they might molest the Christians, and recover the city.

Second massacre.

The subjugated people were therefore dragged into the public places, and slain as victims. Women with children at the breast, girls and boys, all were slaughtered.* The squares, the streets, and even the uninhabited places of Jerusalem, again were strewed with the dead bodies of men and women, and the mangled

* —— Christiani sic neci totum laxaverant animum, ut non sugens masculus aut fœmina nedum infans unius anni vivens manum percussoris evaderet. Albert, 283. as Fuller says, "This second massacre was no slip of an extemporary passion, "but a studied and premeditated act. Besides, the execution "was merciless, upon sucking children, whose not speaking "spake for them; and on women, whose weakness is a shield "to defend them against a valiant man." Fuller, Holy War, book i. ch. 24.

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limbs of children. No heart melted into compassion or expanded into benevolence. The city was washed, and the melancholy task was performed by some Saracenian slaves. No contemporary rejoiced out of general regard to humanity; but every one condemned the count of Tholouse, whose avarice was more alive than his superstition, and whose favourite passion made him save and conduct to Ascalon the only few Muselmans, except the slaves, who escaped the general butchery. The synagogues were set on fire, and the Jews perished in the flames.*

* This account of the siege of Jerusalem has been taken (frequently a mere verbal translation) from the original writers, or their immediate abridgments in Bongarsius, Gesta, 27, 28. Robert, 74, 76. Baldric, 132, 134. Raymond, 175, 178, the first thirty-one chapters of the sixth book of Albert of Aix, Guibert, 533, 537, the second Gesta, 573, 577, and the eighth book of William of Tyre. Add to these, Ordericus Vitalis, 756. Mus. Ital. i. 223, 226. Ralph of Caen, 324, &c. Malmsbury, 443, &c. and M. Paris. 41. The Archbishop of Tyre only mentions one massacre: that in the temple of Solomon, in which ten thousand men fell. He justifies it on the argument, that the Saracens deserved punishment for their profanation of the holy places. He then says, there were about the same number killed in the streets. There is no doubt that the Christians murdered the Muselmans from *principle*. In the middle ages the vice of intolerance attacked the lives of men: in later times it has, with more humanity and refinement, disturbed their rights and possessions only. The total number of the

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Moslem victims is not mentioned by the Latin writers. Aboulmahasen, one of De Guignes' authorities (Hist. des Huns, &c. vol. ii. p. 99), says, that one hundred thousand people perished in the mosques of Sakra and Akra, and one hundred thousand were made prisoners; the aged and infirm were killed, and the women became captives. These general expressions are as useful as "the sands of the sea," and "the stars of the Heaven," of the Greek authors. The Christians made no prisoners; and Albert is decisive that in days of chivalry women were assassinated. Abulfeda (vol. iii. p. 519, ed. Reiske) coolly says, that the massacre lasted seven days, and that seventy thousand persons were killed in the mosque of Omar. But Aboulmahasen and Albufeda lived many years after the event, and only wrote from incorrect tradition.

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THE STATE OF THE HOLY LAND AFTER THE FIRST CRUSADE.

Foundation of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem—Succession of Kings between the first and second Crusades—Godfrey—Baldwin I.—Baldwin II.—Fulk—Baldwin III.—Political History of the Kingdom of Jerusalem—Limits of the Kingdom—Military History—Mode of Warfare—Supplement to the first Crusade—Death of the count of Tholouse—Foundation of the Country of Tripoli—History of that State—Affairs of Antioch—History of Edessa—The Courtenay Family—Fall of Edessa—Vain Attempt to recover it.

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JERUSALEM was in the hands of the Christians; the sepulchre was redeemed, and the blood of the Moslems atoned for profanation. The coolest policy must approve the conduct of the vanquishers subsequently to the capture of the city, though it was the result of martial phrensy; for, surrounded by Muselman foes, the new inhabitants of Jerusalem could alone preserve their independence by extending their territory. A Christian kingdom was raised,

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and the laws, language,* and manners of Europe were planted in Palestine. A minute and chronological history of the battles and sieges in which the Latins were involved, would be neither profitable nor agreeable; but a full and distinct knowledge may be gained of the effects of the first Crusade,† if we separate the military from the civil transactions, and regard the natural relations of things rather than the order of time. The political history of Palestine forms the subject of the present chapter. The next will comprise a view of the constitution and laws of the Latins, and some religious

* The language of the Latin Christians in Palestine, was the same as that which was spoken in Northern France, and which was carried by the Normans into England, and superceded the Anglo Saxon. It was a dialect of the Romane or Romance language, and was called the French Romane, in distinction from the other dialect, called the Provençal Romane. As another name of the latter was afterwards, an important territorial distinction, I may remind the reader that in the provinces to the south of the Loire the affirmative *yes* was expressed by the word *oc*, in the north it is called *oil*: and hence Dante has named the southern language, langue d'oc; and the northern, langue d'oil.

† In strict propriety, the word Crusade is applicable to the state of every Christian who assumed the badge of the cross, travelled to the holy land, and fought with the infidels. But I shall use the word in the confined sense of those great or national armaments which went to Palestine, at the instigation of the Pope, or of a general council, and in consequence of some important political event in the east.

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and military institutions which distinguished the newly established kingdom.

Foundation of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, A.D. 1099, 23 July.

On the eighth day after the capture of the holy city, the princes assembled for the august purpose of electing a monarch. The deliberations were interrupted by several of the clergy, as representatives of the bishop of Calabria and Arnold, one of whom was ambitious of the patriarchate of Jerusalem, and the other of the bishoprick of Bethlehem. The meddling priests confessed the propriety of electing a king, but declared that precedence should accompany rank, and that as spiritual things were more worthy than those of a temporal nature, the choice of a patriarch should take place before that of a monarch.* The princes treated this intrusion with contempt; and it was resolved that personal merit should be rewarded by royal dignities. The rank, family, and possessions of the chieftains were known to each other; but private morals and manners are visible only to friends and domestics.† The inquiry was made, and Godfrey's virtues were

* The archbishop of Tyre admits the force of the general reasoning involved in this declaration, but is indignant that such arguments should be used as a mere cloak to ambition. He every where censures Arnold for profligate manners; and Raymond d'Agiles says, that the debaucheries of this priest were the subjects of the songs of the army.

† Godfrey's friends gave a singular proof of his religious dis-

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declared to be pre-eminent.* The princes conducted him in religious and stately order to the church which covered the tomb of Christ: but he refused to wear a diadem in a city where his Saviour had worn a crown of thorns; and modestly avowed, that the honour of becoming the defender and advocate of the holy sepulchre was all that he aspired to.†

Succession of kings between the first and second Crusades.

Godfrey, A.D. 1099—1100.

A year wanting five days was the term of the short reign of Godfrey. His tomb was not only watered by the tears of his friends, but was honoured by the lamentations of many of the Muselmans, whose affections his virtues had conciliated. The church of the holy sepulchre received his ashes, and it was decreed that that place should be the repository of the kings his

position. He was fond of remaining in church after the termination of the service: his attendants were tired and impatient: and his excessive devotion often spoilt the dinner. Archb. of Tyre, 764.

* "As for the knowing of men, which is at second-hand from "reports; men's weakness and faults are best known from their "enemies, their virtues and abilities from their friends, their "customs and crimes from their servants, their conceits and "opinions from their familiar friends, with whom they discourse "most. General fame is light, and the opinions conceived by "superiors or equals are deceitful; for to such, men are more "masked. *Verior fama è domesticis emanat.*" Bacon, of the Advancement of Knowledge, book 2. Works, vol. i. p. 203. edit. 1803.

† See Appendix, note K.

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successors.* On his death there arose a struggle for supremacy between the clerical and secular powers. The claims of the church to the possession of all divine and human authority were transferred from the west to the east. Godfrey, Bohemond, and Baldwin, had been invested by the patriarch† with rule over their several states, and the artful churchman contended, that as God had been the conqueror of Jerusalem, God was its king, and that he, as heaven's vicegerent, should be received as governor. The humble and religious Godfrey had renounced to the ambitious prelate the whole town of Jaffa, the sepulchre, the tower of David, and many other parts of Jerusalem; and the strange condition had been added, that if Godfrey should die without children, the two cities were to go unreservedly to the patriarch.‡

* Albert, 299. Guibert, 554. William, 775. Godfrey was only forty years old at the time of his death.

† Daimbert, bishop of Pisa, was legate of Pope Paschal the Second, the successor of Pope Urban the Second, who died fifteen days after the capture of Jerusalem, and therefore from some other cause than joy at that event. Albert of Aix charges Baldwin and Bohemond with having taken the bribes of Daimbert. The duke of Normandy had succeeded in making his friend Arnold patriarch; but, on the arrival of Daimbert, the Norman priest prudently resigned, and the Pisan prelate stepped into the vacant place. Archb. of Tyre, 771.

‡ The Archbishop of Tyre (p. 771) is ashamed of the rapacity of Daimbert.

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The king left no issue, but his promises to the church could not affect his people, and a valiant nation felt that it was more necessary to be governed by a sword than a crosier. Tancred offered the throne to the prince of Antioch, but Bohemond about that time lost his liberty in endeavouring to extend his power into the Armenian territories. A fruitless attempt was made by the enemies of the Bouillon family, to invest the count of Tholouse with royal honours; but most of the barons and cavaliers fixed their regards upon the count of Edessa. The enterprising spirit of Baldwin eagerly aspired to a throne, and although the principality comprehended more territories than the kingdom, yet the possession of the holy city was the highest object of ambition as well as of devotion. He shed some tears for the death of his brother, but his feelings of joy at the prospect of a kingly crown soon overcame his grief. He resigned Edessa to his relation, Baldwin du Bourg, and hastened to take possession of the throne. He repelled the attacks of the emirs of Damascus and Ems, ever active when the Christians left their fortifications; yet so many were the perils of the little army in its march to Jerusalem, that his good chaplain, with great honesty and simplicity, confesses, he had rather at that time have been at Chartres than in the holy land. All the barons received the brother

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of Godfrey with acclamations: and the patriarch not thinking it politic to display his mortification, pretended fear, and retired to the sanctuary of Mount Sion. Baldwin, satisfied with the acknowledgments of the soldiers, disregarded the sanction of the church. But after some shew of his power and abilities, friends mediated an accommodation between him and the prelate: and, before all ranks of people, in the church of Bethlehem, the patriarch poured the oil of consecration on the head of Baldwin, and crowned him with the regal diadem.* Tancred, the other opponent of the new king, was not so soon appeased. He had retired from Jerusalem before the coronation, and he would not repair thither on a royal summons to do homage for some territories which he had acquired from the Muselmans. He haughtily replied, that he knew no judge of Jerusalem. A second and third summons were unanswered; but in a short time afterwards he proposed to confer with the king near a river between Jaffa and Azotus. The remembrance of animosities

* Archb. of Tyre, 776, 780. Albert, 301, 307. Fulcher, 402, 406. "As for that religious scruple which Godfrey made "to wear a crown of gold where Christ wore one of thorns, "Baldwin easily dispensed therewith. And surely in these "things the mind is all; a crown might be refused with pride, "and worn with humility." Fuller, Hist. of the Holy War, book ii. ch. 7.

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in Cilicia embittered subjects of present altercation, and the agreement of the princes to delay the conclusion of the conference prevented open outrage. The people of Antioch entreated the young Italian to administer the affairs of their country during the confinement of his relation Bohemond. Peace without a compromise of character was in the power of Tancred, and he therefore delivered the contested places to the sovereign, upon the condition that, in the event of his return, he might enjoy them in feudal tenure.*

In the reign of Baldwin, the kingdom of Jerusalem acquired strength and extent. The Muselmans of Syria trembled, and concealed their hatred of the invaders. The Fatimites, however, continually menaced the infant state. Baldwin marched his army into Egypt. But

April 1118.

the hand of nature arrested him in the career of his fortune. The intellectual firmness of the dying man was greater than that of his friends. He endeavoured to moderate their lamentations, by recalling to their minds the perils of war and famine which they had surmounted. The place of an individual such as himself could be readily supplied, and it was their duty to think only of preserving the holy land. One desire which dwelt upon his mind was, that they

* Albert, 307-8.

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would not suffer his body to lie in Egypt, where it would become a subject of ridicule for the Muselmans. His weeping friends replied, that in the heat of the season they could scarcely touch, much less carry a corpse so great a distance; but the dying man gave them specific instructions for embalming his body, which would enable them with ease to remove it to Jerusalem. Then recommending Baldwin du Bourg for his successor, he expired. All the soldiers mourned his death: but after the first violence of grief, the Franks assumed their ordinary appearance, lest the fatal circumstance should become known to and inspire the enemy with confidence. The army immediately left Egypt, and quickly reached the vicinity of Jerusalem. The time was the week before Easter: Baldwin du Bourg and his Edessenes were just arriving to celebrate the feast: they joined the melancholy train, and the body of the late king was taken to the sepulchre of Godfrey. The sudden loss overwhelmed the Latins with grief, and even the Saracens in Jerusalem sympathized with the common feeling. As a general in the army of the first Crusaders, and as the conqueror of Edessa, Baldwin was selfish, treacherous, and ambitious. But when he attained the height of power, he displayed commanding virtues: what he planned with ability, he generally executed

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with prudence; and as in the early period of his reign the number of the Christian residents in Palestine was small, and the Turks pressed him on every side, great honour must be given to a man who supported and enlarged a state which was placed on such weak foundations.*

On the very day of Baldwin's funeral, the prelates and barons met in council for the choice of a successor. The prince had died without children.† The lovers of hereditary succession urged the claims of Eustace, brother of the deceased king: but that prince was in Europe,‡ and the necessities of the country

Baldwin II. A. D. 1118— 1134.

* Fulcher, 423, 433. Gesta, 609, 614. Albert, 358, 377. Archb. of Tyre, 808, 816. It is difficult to conceive why Tasso censures Baldwin, and praises Bohemond. Their cases were the same. Both deserted the Crusade from selfish motives, and, for aught appears to the contrary, both were wise princes over Edessa and Antioch.

Ma vede in Baldovin cupido ingegno
Ch' all' umane grandezze intento aspira:
* * * * *
E fondar Boemondo al novo regno
Sun d' Antiochia alti principi mira;
E leggi imporre, ed introdur costume,
Ed arti, e culto di verace nume.

Gerusalemme Liber., c. i. 9.

† Whether Baldwin had one, two, or three wives, is disputed. Fulcher, 426. Guibert, 558. Albert, 373. Malmsbury, 468. But it is certain that he left no children; and as the conduct of his wives had no effect on politics, their history is not important to us.

‡ Some of the lords of Palestine sent an offer of the crown

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required a monarch without delay. Joscelyn de Courtenay, whose history occupies a large space in the annals of Edessa, urged the claims of Baldwin du Bourg, on the grounds of his valour and wisdom, and also his consanguinity to the late sovereigns. His opinion was espoused by the patriarch; no contradiction was offered by the other barons or prelates; Baldwin du Bourg was anointed king of Jerusalem, and repaid the services of Courtenay by resigning to him the whole of the Edessene principality.*

Baldwin du Bourg reigned from the year 1118 to the year 1131. His portrait as a monarch may be comprised in the assertion, that he imitated the piety of Godfrey, and the military conduct of Baldwin I. He pursued with constancy the politics of his predecessors, and largely added to the kingdom of Jerusalem.†

The fourth Latin king was Fulk, count of Fulk, 1131—1144.

to Eustace. He left France, but refused to continue his route, when he heard, in Italy, that the people had chosen Baldwin du Bourg. The brother of Godfrey generously and piously exclaimed, "God forbid that I should ever excite trouble in a "country, where Jesus Christ offered up his life, in order to "reconcile guilty man to heaven." L'Art de vérifier les Dates, vol. ii. p. 763.

* Albert, 379. Gesta, 614. Archb. of Tyre, 817.

† Ascalon was not taken till the reign of Almeric I. The conquest of that important city was the last and greatest accession of power to the kingdom of Jerusalem.

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Anjou.* He was one of those numerous cavaliers whom restlessness as well as religion drove from Europe into Asia. In the year 1120 he travelled to the holy land with an hundred men at arms. He was then in the meridian of life;† and though his residence in the holy land was short, yet he left a strong impression on the court of his virtues and accomplishments. The king of Jerusalem had no son,‡ and he wished to ally one of his daughters to a noble French family. He fixed his eyes on Fulk; the offer was a splendid temptation, and, nine years posterior to his first expedition, the gallant warrior landed in Palestine as the acknowledged

* The earls of Anjou had often made journies to Palestine. One of them many years before the first crusade went to Jerusalem, and compelling two servants by an oath to do whatever he commanded, he was publicly dragged by them, in the sight of the Turks, to the holy sepulchre. The servants scourged his naked back, while the old sinner cried aloud, "Lord, receive "thy wretched Fulk, thy perfidious, thy runagate; regard my "repentant soul, O Lord!" Malmsbury, p. 307.

† The archbishop of Tyre is certainly wrong in making Fulk's age sixty when he married Melesinda. He was not even thirty-eight: he was born in 1092. See l'Art de vérifier les Dates, article, Comtes d'Anjou.

‡ Baldwin was married to Morfia, daughter of an Armenian lord. She bore him four daughters: Melesinda; Alice, who married Bohemond, the second prince of Antioch; Hodierna, who became the wife of Raymond, count of Tripoli; and Joie, who died an abbess.

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heir to the throne. Not long afterwards, the king was taken ill, and finding his death approaching, he threw aside the royal robes, quitted his palace, and repaired to the more holy dwelling of the patriarch. The high clergy and barons were summoned; in their presence he gave the sovereignty to his daughter Melesinda and her husband Fulk, and died in their embraces.* CHAP. VII.

Fulk was the sovereign of Jerusalem from the year 1131 till 1144. His conduct as king afforded little matter for praise or reproach. He left the state nearly as he found it. His panegyrist, the archbishop of Tyre, has dignified him with the different virtues of a hero and a saint; and then, mixing a description of his mental with his personal qualities, he says, the king had red hair, but that, contrary to the usual case of such persons, he was kind, affable, and compassionate. Aug. 1131.

Baldwin, the third of that name, eldest son of the late king, was crowned with Melesinda his mother, in the church of the holy sepulchre, by the patriarch of Jerusalem. At the time of his coronation he was only thirteen years old, but he soon cast off the restraint of maternal authority, and bore the sceptre alone. In his Baldwin III. A.D. 1144—1162.

* Archb. of Tyre, 846, 851.

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reign the principality of Edessa was torn from the Christians, and a new crusade was undertaken by the potentates and people of the west..

Political history of the kingdom of Jerusalem.

In the short reign of Godfrey, the Christians wrested Caiphas, and the towns on the lake of Genesareth, from the Muselmans. The emirs of Cesarea, Ascalon, and Acre, sent presents and tributes of money to the king; but his principal care was bestowed on fortifying Jaffa, and rendering it a convenient station for religious travellers. Important accessions of strength were made to the kingdom of Jerusalem in the reign of Baldwin the First. That monarch completed the subjugation of Azotus, a city which had been in alternate submission and rebellion in the reign of Godfrey. In the year 1103, the city of Acre resisted the Christian knights, but in the following spring seventy Genoese vessels, filled with pilgrims and soldiers, arrived in the holy land, and associated with the national troops, had the glory of achieving the conquest. The merchant warriors had always commerce in view, and extorted from Baldwin a third of the plunder, a street, and an exchange in Acre, with various
1103. commercial privileges.* Beritus became a

* Archb. of Tyre, 791. Fulcher, 416. Bernardus, cap. 91.

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Christian barony; and by the conquest of Sarepta, the king could attack with equal ease its neighbours, Tyre and Sidon. In 1111 some pilgrims from the north of Europe* landed at Jaffa. Their work of piety completed, they accorded with Baldwin's wish for the performance of some act of veneration for the Christian cause, and they claimed only provisions in return for their services. The supreme court resolved that Sidon would be the most important of all acquisitions. But after having attacked the city by every instrument of violence, and with every stratagem of art, reverses in another part of his country compelled the king to make peace with the Sidonians, and the Europeans were dismissed. A very few years afterwards, 1115. Sivard, a Norwegian prince, landed at Ascalon with ten thousand fighting men. They were conducted to Jerusalem, and Baldwin, with his clergy and people, shewed them those spots which were sacred in the eyes of Christians. When their zeal was at its height, the renewal of the siege of Sidon was resolved upon; the Norwegian fleet blockaded the city by sea, and the king, with Bertrand, count of Tripoli, as-

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* The archbishop of Tyre calls them Danes and Norwegians. Albert says they came from Jutland, Denmark, and Flanders.

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saulted it by land. Baldwin had called his allies to no trifling enterprize, for six weeks elapsed before the besieged Saracens yielded.*

After having destroyed a fleet of Genoese and Pisans, the Venetian navy sailed to the holy land; and the doge Michael performed his pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The warlike Christians of Palestine thought that the occasion was favourable for strengthening their frontier. In a political view, Tyre and Ascalon were equally important; but the counsel of Heaven was invoked in the church of the sepulchre, and the lot fell upon Tyre. Religious feelings did not absorb worldly considerations; for the doge demanded and obtained, in return for the use of his navy, the promise of a moiety (which was afterwards reduced to a third) of the city of Tyre in full sovereignty; a street, a church, and other advantages in Jerusalem and its de-

1124. pendencies. The winter was passed in preparations for war; and the patriarch and clergy pledged the ornaments of the churches in order to raise money for the soldiers. In the spring the Venetian navy entered the port of Tyre, and formed their line of battle. The army of Jerusalem, commanded by Eustace, lord of Cesarea

* Albert, 346, 347, 364, 365. Archb. of Tyre, 804, 805. Hist. de Regibus Norvagicis, cap. xxxiii. edit. Kirchman.

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and Sidon,* the count of Tripoli, and the patriarch, attacked the triple walls and towers on the land's side. Tyre, though fallen from the grandeur of ancient days, was still one of the richest and most powerful cities on the Mediterranean shores. When the Christians besieged it, the caliphs of Egypt were its lords; but they shewed the feebleness of their government by conceding a third part of it to the Sultans of Damascus, whose situation was more convenient than theirs for the defence of the city. Tyre was crowded with a rich and luxurious population; but the soldiers of Syria were the strength of the place. If the Turks and Egyptians were sometimes divided in their exertions, their enemies were equally discontented; and the land forces of the Christians complained of all the labour of the siege. At the end of five months, the battering-rams had made dreadful breaches in the walls, and famine

* Baldwin II. was at that time the prisoner of Balak, a Turkish emir. This was his second captivity. A few years before, he and Joscelyn de Courtenay had been made captive by the Turks; but some Armenians entered the place of their confinement in the disguise of monks and pedlars, stabbed the garrison, and gave liberty to the king and count. But Baldwin was again taken prisoner. Joscelyn, however, defeated and killed Balak in a general engagement; and this victory accelerated the fall of Tyre, and the liberation of the king.

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attenuated the numerous population. The doge landed his sailors; and they prepared to scale the ramparts. A generous emulation was provoked by this union, and the town was com-
July 1124. pelled to capitulate. The Franks and the Venetians shared the prize; and an archbishopric, subordinate to the patriarchate of Jerusalem, was established.*

Limits of the kingdom.

In its largest extent, the Latin kingdom of Palestine spread from the Mediterranean to the deserts of Arabia,† and from the river between Beritus and Biblos to the town of Darum.‡

* Gesta, 620, 621. Archb. of Tyre, 829, 841, 847. Fulcher, 431, 440. Ord. Vit. 829. Bernard, c. 117—120.

† The people complained that there was no station of defence on the other side of the Dead Sea; and immediately Baldwin I. built the fortress of Karac, or Montreal, in the third Arabia. Archb. of Tyre, 812. In the reign of Fulk, a place called Karac was built in the second Arabia, near the ancient Raba, by a nobleman named Pagan. Archb. of Tyre, 884, 885. were other towns in the Palestinian dominions called Karak; and this application of one name to various places has given rise to much confusion.

‡ We might perhaps add the county of Tripoli to this slip of land. Tripoli was nominally dependent on Jerusalem; but in conduct it was often a free state. The principality of Antioch and the county of Edessa were the allies but not the tributaries of the Latin kingdom. In 1119, Baldwin III. re-edified Gaza, in order to check the incursions of the Egyptians from their station in Ascalon. In 1153, Ascalon was taken by the Christians, as we shall describe in a succeeding chapter. But long

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The lands were parcelled out among the Crusaders agreeably to the general principles of feudal polity. Sometimes the conquered Muselmans were allowed to live as tributaries,* but, generally, the towns were exclusively occupied by the Crusaders. The subjects of Baldwin I. were few; and he therefore invited to his capital all those Christian families who, at various times of ecclesiastical persecution, had sheltered themselves in Arabia. For the encouragement of commerce, his immediate successor allowed all people, whether Christians or Muselmans, to trade with Jerusalem, exempt from customary imposts.†

Military history.

During all the interval between the first and second crusades, the holy land was seldom free from hostile inroads. The Latin conquests had spread consternation among the Muselmans, and the people of Damascus implored the aid and advice of the caliph of Bagdad. Tears and

before that event, Edessa had been recaptured by the Turks; and in a general political point of view, the loss and gain were nearly balanced.

* A new class of people became known in consequence of the intercourse between the Crusaders and the Muselmans. The Pullani or Poulains were the children of Syrian mothers and European fathers, or of Syrian fathers and European mothers. The former was generally the case; for European women were not very numerous in Palestine.

† Fulcher, cap. 49 p. 430.

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good wishes were the only return which the commander of the faithful could give. But the sultan of Egypt was alarmed for the safety of his dominions in Palestine. Within a month after the election of Godfrey, Al Aphdal (the former conqueror of Jerusalem) poured his Fatimites into the holy land, and they were joined by thousands of Arabians and Turks. Five thousand horsemen, and fifteen thousand foot soldiers, constituted the Latin force; and, in the exaggeration of vanity or fear, the number of the infidels has been equalled to that of the hosts of Kerboga at Antioch.* The Moslems waited the attack, and so sure were they of victory, that every man had a bottle of water suspended from his neck, wherewith he could refresh himself in pursuing the routed Latins. All their wisdom was wasted in confidence. The soldiers of the king of Jerusalem uttered a short prayer, and rushed upon the enemy with all the fury which courage, inflamed by holy madness, could inspire. Godfrey, the duke of Normandy, and Tancred were the most distinguished in the attack. On the first onset the Egyptians fled. According to the vaunt of the Latin historians, scarcely a man fell on the side of the Christians, while thirty thousand of the

* Enc: Letter in Martenne, Thes. Nov. vol. i. p. 281.

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foes were slain on the field of battle, and sixty thousand in the pursuit. The only resistance which the Franks experienced was made by a body of more than five thousand Ethiopians, who concealed themselves among the inequalities of the ground, fired their arrows, and then plunged into the ranks of their enemy with swords and with scourges of leather and iron balls. But their valour was unsupported, and the Latins scattered or destroyed them. The spoil of the Egyptian camp was immense; the whole was divided among the soldiers, except the sword and standard of the sultan, which were taken to Jerusalem, and hung over the altar of the holy sepulchre.*

In the second year of the reign of Baldwin the First, the Egyptians made a rapid march into Palestine, and the Franks heard that they were encamped at Ramula. Presuming on his prowess, and not waiting for all the military strength of the nation, the king headed some few hundred horsemen. The small phalanx was overwhelmed by the Egyptians; Stephen earl of Chartres† was taken prisoner, and mur-

* Archb. of Tyre, book 9, ch. 10—13. Albert, book 6, chap. 47. Gesta, 29.

† The earl of Chartres, mentioned in the text, was the *hero* who ran away in the first crusade. His wife was Adela, a daughter of king William I. of England, and this spirited lady

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dered by his enemy; and the earl of Burgundy and most of the Christians were slain in the field. After surviving the perils of the battle, and escaping the danger of being burnt in some wood where he concealed himself, Baldwin took refuge in the castle near Ramula, which was soon menaced by the Saracens. When apparently nothing short of a miracle could avert his fate, he was saved by a noble action of gratitude. In a former moment of victory he had overtaken a Muselman woman in the pangs of labour. He gave her his cloak to wrap herself in, and his friends carried her water and fruit. When the child was born he sent the objects of his humane attention to their nearest relative, who was a Saracen of rank. The Turk, as full of gratitude as of joy, vowed that he would never forget the generosity of Baldwin. In the course of the night, the grateful Muselman approached the walls, and told the sentinels that he had matters of state to communicate to the king. They allowed him to pass, and to enter the royal chambers. He declared his name and character to the astonished monarch, and revealed his purpose of rescuing the friend of his wife and infant. Baldwin had little time

vowed she would give her husband no rest till he recovered his fame in Palestine. He went thither, and died in the manner above related.

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for deliberation, and no expedients for choice: he was assured that the castle must fall, and he knew that the dignity of his station would be no shield against the sword of the Muselmans. He trusted therefore to the offer of the noble Saracen for safe conduct through the Moslem force. The Christians lost the castle, but the calamity was amply compensated by the escape of the king.*

Mode of warfare.

The conduct of the Christians, in their hostilities with the Muselmans, present to us some curious particulars of the state of the age. Before every battle the aid of Heaven was invoked; and the priests were not remiss in blessing and animating the warriors. The cause of war and religion was dear to all classes of people: the aged gave their prayers, the weak their tears, while military fierceness strung the nerves of the young and adventurous. On occasions of more than ordinary importance, when the bell of Jerusalem's principal church sounded the note of war, fasts were ordained of such superstitious rigour, that children at the breast were not allowed the usual nourishment; and the herds of cattle were driven from their pasturage. It was pre-

* On this occasion the archbishop of Tyre is poetical. He says the king appeared among his subjects quasi stella matutina in medio refulgens nebulæ, p. 738.

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tended that a piece of the true cross was found in the holy city; the great fraud of the fourth century was revived; and the precious relic was in every engagement the chief incitement to valour. The thunders of Heaven were often supposed to have aided the soldiers of God; and the people, more credulous than delicate, carried into the field some milk which they believed had belonged to the Blessed Virgin.* The Franks never forgot the lesson which the Moslems had taught them of ripping open bodies for gold.† Religious wars have always been more sanguinary than contests which have sprung from ambition or national animosities. In the crusades, intolerance and implaca-

* The expression of Robert de Monte is,—"Episcopus Beth-"leemides ferens in pyxide lac sanctæ Mariæ Virginis."—This singular relic is a great subject of ridicule in Erasmus' Dialogue concerning Pilgrimages. "O matrem filii simillimam! ille "nobis tantum sanguinis sui reliquit in terris; hæc tantum "lactis, quantum vix credibile est esse posse uni mulieri uni-"paræ, etiamsi nihil bibisset infans," &c. &c. Thus too Swift: "Lord Peter swore he had a cow at home, which gave as much "milk at a meal as would fill three thousand churches; and what "was yet more extraordinary, would never turn sour." A Tale of a Tub, section 4.

† See p. 29, ante. Speaking of the sack of Azotus by the soldiers of Baldwin in 1101, Malmsbury says, "The scene was "enough to excite laughter in a by-stander, to see a Turk dis-"gorging besants when struck on the neck by the fist of a "Christian."

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bility went hand in hand; and the fancied authority of Heaven for the infliction of punishment, sharpened and embittered the military character, which was already wild and savagely furious. In the wars which scourged and desolated Europe, the spirit of chivalry mitigated the ferocity of the soldier; his heart was accessible to the claims of the injured, the wretched, and the prostrate. But when he fixed the sign of the cross on his coat of mail, and spurred his war-steed in the plains of Palestine, sanctified bitterness mingled with his valour, and all the sympathies and charities of the gentle knight disappeared. It behoved the champion of the sepulchre to wade through seas of blood. The cries of women, and the helplessness of children, could not mollify the rigour of fanaticism. The humanities of chivalry were denied to the Muselmans; for chivalry was an institution of Christianity (of Christianity in a corrupted and degraded state), and founded as much for the purpose of the destruction of infidels, as for the security and happiness of the faithful. Both vindictive antipathy and evangelical charity were the duties of knighthood; and he who spared a Muselman was as faithless a soldier of Christ, as he who plunged his sword into the heart of a fallen and suppliant Christian.

The mercantile cities of Italy, and the people

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Supplement to the first Crusade.

of the north of Europe, co-operated with the remnants of the first Crusaders in forming a kingdom. France, Italy, and Germany, poured forth their hosts as soon as the western world had been blessed with the news that the sepulchre was in the hands of the faithful. The new champions of the cross encountered, but sunk under the horrors of Asia Minor.* The sword of the enemy, and those destructive agents of death, famine and disease, swept from the world more than four hundred thousand fanatical spirits.†

* A detailed history of the preparations and march of these supplementary Crusaders would be only a repetition (changing names) of many of the circumstances of the first Crusade. I shall limit myself, therefore, chiefly to results.

† The aggregate mentioned in the text is comprised of these materials:

Conrad, constable of the emperor Henry IV. led	2,000
The counts of Vermandois, Blois, Burgundy, and Vendome, the count of Parma, and the bishop of Milan	260,000
Counts of Nevers and Auxerre	15,000
Dukes of Aquitain, Bavaria, and marchioness of Austria	160,000
	437,000

Most of these people perished in Asia Minor. The counts of Blois and Vermandois, mentioned in the second division, were the celebrated Stephen and Hugh of the first Crusade.

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One* beneficial consequence resulting to the Christian cause from this profusion of blood was the capture of Tortosa, which like Azotus had fluctuated between submission and rebellion. The count of Tholouse had been the guide of the Crusaders through Asia Minor, and rather than censure their own improvidence, they attributed many of their misfortunes to the treachery of their leader. But opinions changed,

The earl of Vermandois died of his wounds at Tarsus in Cilicia. The earl of Blois reached Jerusalem, but was taken prisoner (A. D. 1102) by the Egyptians, and murdered. See p. 284, ante. Ordericus Vitalis, 789—793. Albert, 316—325. Archb. of Tyre, 782—787. See too L'Art de vérifier les Dates, ii. 561, 705, 295, 615, 358. The duke of Aquitain, whom we have mentioned, had need of expiation of his offences against religion and the clergy. He had married a woman whose husband was living; and the bishop was resolved to excommunicate him. He began to read the form; but the nobleman drew his sword, and threatened to kill him. The prelate, pretending alarm, desired a moment's reflection, and made use of it to finish the ceremony of excommunication. "Strike "now," he exclaimed, "I am ready." "No," replied the prince, "I do not love you well enough to dismiss your soul to Para-"dise; but I will send your body into exile."

* The remnants of the supplemental Crusade were as useful in supporting, as the remnants of the first Crusaders had been in forming, the Latin kingdom in Palestine. After the capture of Jerusalem, most of the Christians who survived returned to Europe. Tancred was the only chief who remained with Godfrey; and the effective force of himself and the king did not exceed two thousand foot soldiers, and three hundred horsemen.

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or indignation abated; and under his command, and for his use, the French princes subjugated Tortosa: and if valour had met with its reward the broad banners of the cross would have surmounted the ramparts of Tripoli. The hope of conquering that city never deserted Raymond, and his Provençals built a castle near it, which was called the castle of the Pilgrims, from the holy character of those who erected it. In France his territories were more extensive than those of the Capetian monarchs: in rank and power he far exceeded Godfrey of Bouillon. But his ambition and treachery gradually lost him the favour of the chiefs: old age came upon him, and he died unlamented on the sea-coast of Palestine, in the year 1105.* He be-

* Archb. of Tyre, 791, 795. In the earl of Blois' second Crusade, Raymond had been the guide of some of the Crusaders; and their misfortunes were attributed to his supposed alliance with the Turks. He had been frequently treacherous to Godfrey. The king with difficulty prevented him from establishing an Imperium in Imperio in Jerusalem. Raymond encouraged the town of Ascalon to hold out against Godfrey, when the Christians defeated the Egyptians in the neighbourhood. He also supported the town of Azotus in rebellion; and his last effort of malice, was to persuade many of the barons and soldiers to return to Europe. Mus. Ital. I. 229. Albert, 289. Malmsbury, 475. Villehardouin, 136. In the rugged verse of Robert of Gloucester, and the polished strains of Tasso, the subject of the present note is designated by the same title

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queathed his oriental lands to his nephew, William Jordan, count of Cerdagne. Four years afterwards, Bertrand, eldest son of Raymond, conducted some Provençals and a fleet of Genoese and Pisans to the siege of Tripoli. The king of Jerusalem and all the Christian princes in Palestine co-operated with them, and the Egyptians resigned their post. Baldwin erected the city and its territory into a county for the family of the deceased Raymond. Bertrand was declared count to the prejudice of his cousin. Tortosa and some other places were given to the count of cerdagne; but he died soon after his investiture; and, according to agreement, Bertrand was his successor.*

Death of the count of Thoulouse.

Foundation of the county of Tripoli. June 1109.

Tancred found a foe in the lord of Tripoli. The regent of Antioch then seized Tortosa, and gave it to William, a natural son of his crusading companion, Robert duke of Normandy. A cloud of Turks menaced the Latins of Syria. Those who were on the Orontes implored an union of the Christian princes. The union was made, the enemy were defeated: and by mag-

Dec. 1111.

of virtue. In the one he is called "the erl of Seyne Gyle the "gode Reymond;" and in the other, "il buon Raimondo." But in every view this epithet was misapplied: for the count of Provence had not those virtues which endear a man to his equals, or those qualities which conciliate the populace.

* Archb. of Tyre, 795, 801. Bernardus, cap. 96.

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nanimity, not retaliation, Bertrand was revenged on Tancred. But with that quick versatility which distinguished the politics of the states of Palestine, the count of Tripoli soon afterwards assisted the emperor Alexius in his never-ceasing wish of stamping the mark of feudal tenure on the principality of Antioch. But he died while the negociations were pending, and his death rendered them abortive. His son Pontius, whose mother was Alice, daughter of Eudes I. duke of Burgundy, was his successor in the county of Tripoli, and the lordship of Tholouse in France was given to Alphonsus Jordan, son of the celebrated Raymond.*

April 1112.

Death of Tancred.

Before the close of the year 1112, the Christians mourned the death of Tancred. His end was that of a warrior, for he died of a wound which he had received from an enemy. In his last moments, with more disinterestedness than delicacy, he called his wife, and Pontius of Tripoli, before him, and recommended their marriage. As he had no children to emulate his virtues and chivalry, he confided the government of Antioch to his kinsman, Roger, son of Richard count of Capua, and seneschal of Apulia.†

* Archb. of Tyre, 806, 807. L'Art de vérifier les Dates, ii. 296.

† Archb. of Tyre, 807.

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History of Tripoli.

Some years after these events, Pontius, count of Tripoli, turned his arms against the Muselmans; but if the entreaties of the countess for assistance had not prevailed with the king of Jerusalem, the friend of Tancred would have been conquered by Zenghi, sultan of Aleppo, who besieged him in the castle of Barin, or Montferrat. He was doomed, however, to perish by the swords of the Muselmans. The Syrians of Mount Libanus betrayed him into their hands, and he suffered a cruel death. Raymond, his successor, explored the recesses of Mount Libanus, dragged the treacherous Syrians to Antioch, and massacred them in the view and for the gratification of the people who had long known and loved Pontius. Palestine again was in arms, for the sultan of Aleppo had attacked Raphania. The king of Jerusalem, and the count of Tripoli, joined their levies, but were defeated; Raymond was taken prisoner, and the king with difficulty saved himself in the neighbouring castle of Barin. All the Latins in Syria united for the defence of Fulk, and even the prince of Antioch quitted his city, though it was menaced by the Greeks. He arrived with the count of Edessa near the castle, but the politic Turk had been apprised of his approach, and had extorted from the exhausted monarch a treaty of peace,

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whereby the castle was to be delivered to Zenghi, and the safety of the king, the liberty of the count of Tripoli, and the restoration of Paneas, or Cesarea Philippi, were to be purchased for fifty thousand pieces of gold.*

Affairs of Antioch. 1102-11.

By splendid offers of favour and treasure to the Armenian prince, Alexius endeavoured to gain the person of Bohemond; but the superior cunning of the Italian prevailed, and Danischmend thought that the alliance of the conquering Latins would be more powerful and useful than that of the inert and feeble Greeks. After two years captivity, Bohemond returned to Antioch, and found that his faithful Tancred had enlarged the estate by the addition of the two important cities of Laodicea and Apamea.† Foiled in his endeavours to procure the cession of Antioch, as the terms of the liberation of its prince, Alexius demanded at the point of the sword feudal submission from Bohemond. But the Italian answered, that the treaty of Constantinople was reciprocal in its obligations, and that one party who had neg-

* Archb. of Tyre, 852, 888. Ben Latir, i. 550, 558. Paneas appears, more than once, to have belonged to the Christians several years previous to these events. At the time of the treaty it was in the hands of a rebellious emir; but the united Latins and Muselmans soon made him sue for mercy.

† Ibid. Cad. p. 329, 330.

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lected and despised its stipulations had no claim on the performance of them by the other. War was then waged by the Greeks and Latins; the imperial arms triumphed by land: but the Pisans, the friends of Bohemond, by their maritime victories saved the infant state.* Foreign hostility often diverted the Christians from internal tumults, and the princes of Antioch and Edessa would have subjugated the city of Carra† in Mesopotamia, if the question of lordship over it had not occupied their attention when the moment for victory was arrived. But the Turks of Aleppo and Mosul were on the spot before the dispute was closed, and in the battle which ensued the Muselmans were completely victorious. The prince of Edessa, the archbishop, and Joscelyn de Courtenay, were made prisoners, and Tancred and Bohemond with difficulty escaped

* The important services which the Pisans rendered to the Italians in Antioch, are acknowledged in a treaty between Tancred and the republic, A.D. 1108. By that instrument Tancred conceded to his friends a street in Laodicea, and another in Antioch. Muratori, Antiquitates Italiæ Med. Ævi Dissert. xxx. vol. i. p. 906, and p. 288, ante, note.

† Called Haran, in the book of Genesis, and celebrated also as the place near which Crassus was defeated by the Parthians, about half a century before Christ. Dio, lib. iv. c. xxviii. Carra was situated about fourteen miles from Edessa, on the other side of the Euphrates.

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to Antioch.* The disorder of the Christians in the east was fomented by discord between the king of Jerusalem and the patriarch. It was sacrilegiously thought by Baldwin the First, that the treasures of the church should support the soldiers as well as the monks and the poor. On one occasion, Daimbert was forced to yield, but on a reiteration of the request, he openly charged the king with profanation; and Baldwin was not backward in his sarcasms against the personal licentiousness of Daimbert. The patriarch was driven from Jerusalem, and fled for redress and revenge to the court of Bohemond. But the prince of Antioch was unable, without European succour, to defend himself or others, and Daimbert resolved to fly to the protection of the Vatican. The government was once more confined to the skilful charge of Tancred, and the potentate and churchman sailed from Syria, and soon landed on the Italian shores.† The news of

* Archb. of Tyre, 792, 3.

† There is a ridiculous story in the Alexiad, that Bohemond caused a report to be spread that he was dead, and that he escaped the Greeks in a coffin. Du Cange very rationally refutes this story, on the arguments of the total silence of the Latin writers, the want of proof that Antioch was surrounded, and that Bohemond could escape by no other means. Alexiad, p. 270, notes, 94.

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the object of Bohemond's arrival quickly spread, and he was invited to the court of Philip king of France. The fame of his valour had passed from the east to the west, and his presence inspired the adventurous Frenchmen with a generous emulation. The king was proud of marrying one of his daughters to the prince of Antioch, and of betrothing another to the gallant Tancred.* Spain, Italy, and France sent forth their choicest knights, and the favourite of the French monarch sailed from Apulia at the head of five thousand horsemen, and forty thousand foot.† He was accompanied by Daimbert, who after a long sojourn at Rome for Baldwin's accusation of him before the Holy See, departed with the orders of the

* The wife of Bohemond was Constantia, widow of Hugh, count of Champagne. Cecilia, her younger sister, became the wife of Tancred. L'Art de vérifier les Dates, i. 571, and p. 290, ante.

† Fulcher (p. 420) says, that no women were allowed to go on this crusade, lest they should be expensive and troublesome. "Feminam autem nullam tunc secum transfretare permisit, ne "exercitantibus impedimento et oneri essent." Anna (p. 292) mentions some soldiers in Bohemond's army from Thule; which place, in this instance, many writers suppose meant England. But it is singular, that directly Bohemond's return to Italy was known in Europe, the prudent Henry the First, who was at that time employed in the subjugation of Normandy, forbad his soldiers from entering into the service of the Italian. Ord. Vit. p. 816.

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Pope for the recovery of the patriarchate.* Bohemond landed at Durazzo, and immediately waged war with Alexius: but the injuries of the Latin cause were terminated by treaty, not by arms. Famine had commenced its work of havoc among the Italians, and the officers were suspected of having received the gold of Alexius. Bohemond preserved his dignity, and would not as an inferior meet the emperor. He insisted, and it was granted, that he might be accompanied into the presence chamber by two knights, and that he should not be compelled to bend the knee or incline the head. He did not, however, require that the emperor should rise on his approaching the throne. The hypocrites vowed perpetual peace, and the Byzantine swore on holy relics that he would ever protect the European pilgrims by sea and land. The largest part of Bohemond's army then took the road for Jerusalem, and the remainder, with the Italian prince himelf, returned to Apulia.†

After the death of Tancred, the state was in the hands of his kinsman, Roger, to whom he had bequeathed it. In the year 1119, the re-

* Archb. of Tyre, 799. Daimbert died, however, in Sicily.

† Fulcher, 419, 420. Archb. of Tyre, 792, 798. Albert, 341, 354. De Guignes, ii. 29. Malmsbury, 472. Alexiad, 270, 329. Bohemond died the next year (A.D. 1109) while preparing to go to Antioch.

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gent perished by the swords of the Damascene Saracens; and Baldwin II. annexed Antioch to Jerusalem. But Bohemond, the son of Bohemond and Constantia, arriving in Palestine about the year 1126, claimed his inheritance, was acknowledged lawful prince of Antioch, under the title of Bohemond the Second, and sealed his friendship for the king by marrying his daughter Alice.* He lived only five years in the enjoyment of his principality, and at his death his widow aspired to the throne, and not the mere regency of the state. Baldwin repressed the ambition of his daughter; but it appeared again in the reign of his successor, Fulk, and the king of Jerusalem was compelled to march to Antioch. On his road he scattered the army of her friend Pontius, count of Tripoli, and with the aid of the knights of St. John and the Temple, restored peace to Antioch. Fulk gave the principality in charge to the lord of Margat. But dreading the re-appearance of the ambition of Alice, he resolved that the child of Bohemond should have a protector, and as there was no unmarried prince in Palestine remarkably eminent for the greatness of his fortune and family, he offered the hand of Constantia, the heiress of Antioch, to Ray-

* Fulcher, 888. Ord. Vit. 825.

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mond of Poitiers, youngest son of William VII. duke of Aquitain. The friend of Fulk was at the court of Henry the First of England when the ambassadors arrived. So noble a prospect seldom presented itself to the eyes of a young cavalier. He accepted the offer with transport: but as he knew that he had evil to dread from the rivalry of Roger, duke of Apulia, he travelled through Italy on foot, and embarked for Antioch as a simple pilgrim. The patriarch of that city had espoused the side of Alice; but he deserted her when the new lord pledged to him an oath of obedience, and the faithless churchman celebrated the marriage in the cathedral of Antioch.*

In the year 1137, the emperor John Comnenus pursued without opposition his road to Antioch, and drew from Raymond an acknowledgment of the dependance of his principality upon Constantinople. The Greeks, the count of Edessa and Raymond, laid siege to Cesarea; but they failed, in consequence of the indolence†

* Archb. of Tyre, 852. "Indeed this Constantia was but a "child for age: but they never want years to marry who have "a kingdom for their portion." Fuller, Hist. of the Holy War, book ii. ch. xx.

† According to the Arabic writers, Zenghi instilled the suspicion into the minds of the Franks, that if the emperor could take a single fortress, he would not be satisfied till he had sub-

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and indifference of the Latin princes. The emperor travelled from Cilicia to Antioch, in order to punish the cowards, and entered the city in triumph, with the reins of his horse held by the offenders. Lord of the town, he aspired to the absolute possession of the citadel, but Raymond fomented a disturbance, and the emperor was glad to quit the place, and to retreat to Constantinople. In 1142 he returned into Syria, at the pressing solicitation of the Franks, and drove back a stream of Turkish hostility. He demanded the complete sovereignty over Antioch. The prince sent to him the patriarch and lords, who declared, that even if Raymond and his wife were to resign their authority, the people would elect a new master. The emperor revenged himself by wasting the country, and retired to Cilicia for the winter. He died before he could renew his barbarities.*

History of Edessa. The Courtenays.

Joscelyn de Courtenay was a companion of the earl of Chartres in his second crusade; and, surviving the general misfortunes, he found safety and a principality in Edessa. The marriage of his mother's sister with Baldwin's

jugated all Palestine. Zenghi harassed the rear guard of the retreating army, and then went into Tripoli, and rased the castle of Arca. Ben. Latir, i. 551.

* Archb. of Tyre, 866, 869, 870. Cinnamus, 6, 9.

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father made him and Baldwin du Bourg cousins,* and his relation gave him in sovereignty such part, except Samosat, of the Edessene country as laid on this side of the Euphrates.† After five years captivity, the consequence, as we have mentioned,‡ of the Turkish victory at Carra, Baldwin and Joscelyn were ransomed. Tancred had in the mean while administered the affairs of the Courtenay dominions; but was charged with needless delays in resigning his office, and Joscelyn resolved to chastise him.

* The Courtenay family was of pure French extraction: that is, it came from the Isle of France. A French gentleman, named Athon, about the year 1000, fortified the town of Courtenay. His descendants took their surname from that town. The crusading Courtenay was grandson of Athon, and nephew of Milo de Courtenay, the ancestor of the English branch of the family: his mother was Isabel or Elizabeth, daughter of Guy de Montiheri. Lignage d'Outremer, p. 230. Bouchet, Hist. Généal. de la Maison de Courtenay, p. 8. Melesinda, the other daughter of Guy, married Hugh, the first earl of Rethel, father of Baldwin du Bourg. This Baldwin and the grandson of Athon, were, therefore, cousins. L'Art de vérifier les Dates, ii. 631. (Pharamond, the founder of the French monarchy, was the common patriarch of all the kings of France, of the earls of Boulogne, and of the house of Courtenay.) The armorial bearings of the kings of Jerusalem, and of the viscounts Courtenay, are therefore the same. *viz.* three torteaux, gules, in a field, or. Collins's Peerage, vol. vi. p. 214, new ed.

† Bouchet, p. 8. Cleaveland, Hist. of the Courtenay family, p. 5.

‡ P. 291, ante.

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But although the prince of Edessa did not scruple to call in Turkish auxiliaries, yet he could not subdue the regent of Antioch, and friends mediated a reconciliation.

The territories of Joscelyn were better cultivated, and more productive, than those of Baldwin du Bourg, because they were not so much exposed to Turkish inroads: the year 1113 was a period of scarcity on the other side of the Euphrates, and Joscelyn was accused not only of remissness in assisting his friend and cousin, but of a wish to arrogate additional power. At the request of the count of Edessa, Courtenay repaired to his palace; his benefactor reminded him of the duty of gratitude; had him put to the torture, and extorted a resignation of his territories. Joscelyn then repaired to Jerusalem, and expressed to the king his purpose of returning to Europe; but the monarch was glad of the service of a celebrated general, and secured his allegiance by giving him the lordship of the Tiberiad.* On the accession of Baldwin du Bourg, friendship was restored between the cousins, and Courtenay became sole lord of Edessa. He was inferior to none of the brave warriors of his age in repressing the Turks, who were frequently quelled, but never entirely subdued. The

* Archb. of Tyre, 868.

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mode of his death corresponded with the tenor of his life. He had been wounded in the siege of a castle near Aleppo, and soon after his return to Edessa, he heard that the sultan of Iconium was again in arms. The son of Joscelyn declined to cope with the Moslems, and the ancient hero was carried in a horse litter to the field. The report of his presence terrified the enemy into a retreat, and he expired while giving thanks to God that his very name, the shadow of his old achievements, had produced an effect as powerful as his former valour.*

1132. The inability of Egypt and Syria to drive back the European invaders, made the Moslems tremble for the existence of their empire and religion, and both fear and policy anxiously looked for the appearance of one of those master spirits, who so often in the east have collected the elements of war, and created the mightiest revolutions. Some years before the Crusades, the Seljukian prince, Malek Shah, bestowed upon a brave and faithful officer the city of Aleppo, and other valuable gifts.† On the death of Malek, and the consequent dissolution of the great Tartarian monarchy, Ac-sancar rebelled against the family of his benefactor, and was distinguished as one of his most power-

* Archb. of Tyre, 853. † De Guignes, vol. ii. p. 148.

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ful opponents. His death was premature. His son, Zenghi, was educated in the field, and the annals of the Latins in Palestine abound with confessions of his martial prowess.* Mosul was an appendage to the throne of the Seljuks, and it was the universal cry of the Muselmans that Zenghi was the only man who was capable of discharging the functions of emir, and of repelling the aggressors of the west. He was accordingly invested with titles and command, and by a skilful combination of valour and political skill he justified the distinction. The feuds between the count of Edessa and the younger Bohemond, prince of Antioch, were favourable to his grand design of clearing Palestine of Christians. Joscelyn permitted his troops to pass the Euphrates. In the last year of the life of Joscelyn de Courtenay, the power of Zenghi was at a sufficient height to enable him to attempt the destruction of the Edessene principality. He watched the occasion of the departure of the prince into the territories of Iconium, and pressed forwards to Edessa. As we have already seen, the son of Joscelyn did not inherit his father's military virtues: he abandonded himself to pleasure in the town of Tur-

* Under the name of Sanguin, a corruption of his real title.

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bessel, and tarnished his princely dignity by the dissipation of amusement and the allurements of passion. Though the time was critical, political rancour held the Antiochians in a cold and disgraceful neutrality. The kingdom of Palestine, indeed, furnished some squadrons, but they were too few, or too tardy, to be of avail. Zenghi surrounded Edessa; his moveable wooden towers overhung the walls, and his soldiers incessantly worked both the battering-ram and the mine. For seventeen days the hope of succour from the Latins, the expectation of legions of angels, headed by the tutelar saint, and the disgrace of falling into the hands of the infidels, sustained the courage of the besieged. But on the eighteenth day the city's walls presented many dreadful breaches, and the Saracens entered. Their heralds proclaimed through the ranks that pillage and conquest went hand in hand. Among the Christian population there appeared the edifying spectacle of the bishops blessing and encouraging the people, and of the inferior clergy fighting with the troops. But all was lost. The Muselmans prevailed in every quarter, and the slaughter of men, women, and children, which they made, was as direful as the resistance of the Christian soldiers had been firm. At the altars, in the houses, as well as in the

Fall of Edessa.

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streets, the Saracens plunged their swords into the hearts of the young and the old, the clergy and the laity. Sometimes the cruelty of the conquerors took a new character, and appeared in acts of insult. The priests were condemned to slavery, and an Armenian bishop, stripped of his robes, was dragged through the public streets, and beaten with rods. The churches were plundered, and it seemed difficult to determine whether from the love of pillage or of profanation.*

1145. Vain attempt to recover it.

In a war with a Muselman prince, Zenghi was assassinated. His sons, Saphadin and Noureddin, divided the empire; the former became emir of Mosul, the latter lord of the more powerful state of Aleppo. The death of the old warrior inspired his foes with the hope of recovering the valuable province of Edessa. While Noureddin was fixing his power in Aleppo, the Christians in Edessa and Joscelyn in Turbessel held communications. The count collected some troops, passed the Euphrates, and presented himself in the middle of the night at the foot of the city's walls, when his friends admitted the band, and the Muselman garrison

* De Guignes, livre 13. Archb. of Tyre, 891—3. By the command of the caliph of Bagdad, thanksgivings to Heaven were offered in all the mosques of Islamism for this great victory, and Zenghi was prayed for on Friday.

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took refuge in the citadel. While the fate of Edessa was in suspence, Noureddin heard the news, and flew to turn the scale. The Latin soldiers, surrounded by the foe, had only the forlorn hope of fighting their way. The citizens accompanied them, and after their departure from the city, the garrison quitted the fortress, and the soldiers of Noureddin their camp. The miserable fugitives were attacked in front and rear, and but few of them escaped the Moslem sabre. Edessa was recovered by the Turks,* and Noureddin immediately rased the fortifications and demolished the churches.

* De Guignes, livre 13. Archb. of Tyre, 893—899. Ben Latir, 1. 555.

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CONSTITUTION AND LAWS OF JERUSALEM, AND OF THE CHIVALRIC INSTITUTIONS IN PALESTINE.

Principles of the constitution of Jerusalem—The government monarchical—Coronation forms—Officers of state—Church establishment—Territorial division, and military strength of the kingdom—Tenure of land—Relation of a lord and his man—State of women—Debtor and creditor—Courts of justice—Trial by battle—Villains and slaves—Religious and military orders—The knights of St. John—The Templars—The knights of St. Lazarus.

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On the civil history of the kingdom of Jerusalem the mind reposes itself with pleasure, after the contemplation of those scenes of misery and horror which the first holy war exhibited. Of themselves too, the constitution and laws of the great European state in Palestine form a rich and important subject, inasmuch as they reflect life and manners,* and

* Mens, et animus, et consilium, et sententia civitatis posita est in legibus.—Cicero pro Cluentio.

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are a part of those feudal institutions which have been the basis of the public reason and civil jurisprudence of the modern kingdoms of Europe.*

Principles of the constitution of Jerusalem.

Godfrey was an elected king; and we have seen that his two immediate successors owed their crowns, rather to personal merit and intrigue than to principles of hereditary succession. But after the death of Baldwin du Bourg, the foundation of the constitution appears to have been settled; and the Latin state of Jerusalem may be regarded as a feudal hereditary monarchy. There were two chief lords of the kingdom, namely, the patriarch and the king, whose cognizance extended over spiritual and temporal affairs.† The king's becoming qualities were justice, sagacity, courage, generosity, eloquence, and courtesy; all knit together in the virtues of truth and honour. His subjects were to obey and love him, rather on account of his actions than of his rank.‡ The salic insti-

The government monarchical.

* The code of laws of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem has not been much studied by legal writers. Even Montesquieu rarely refers to it. But it is difficult to conceive that a knowledge, complete in all its parts, of the feudal law can be gained, without the study of a system, which certainly must be considered as one of its branches.

† Assises, ch. 315, 287. For an account of the assises of Jerusalem, see note K.

‡ Assises, ch. 282. "Nus n'est tenus a prodhome par sa

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tutions influenced the laws of succession; and accordingly males were preferred to females, though the consanguinity of the latter might be nearer than that of the former.* The monarch was ordinarily crowned by the patriarchs at Jerusalem; but at Tyre, when the holy city was in the hands of the infidels. In the church of the sepulchre the king swore to protect religion, to do justice, and to govern the people agreeably to the laws and customs of the realm. The patriarch exclaimed, "and I will assist you," and placed the crown on his head. He then thrice called on the prelates, knights, and other liegemen and burgesses, to declare whether the person whom they were assembled to enthrone were the true heir of the kingdom. On the giving of answers in the affirmative, the hymn 'Te Deum laudamus' was sung; and having entered the choir with his barons, who bore the crown and the apple, the seneschal with the sceptre, and the constable with the standard, the king was clad in the royal robe. The patriarch poured many blessings on his head; the king seated himself on the throne, and mass began. In the course of the service, he was

Coronation forms.

"dignité, mais par ses ouvres." There is "nothing barbarous" in this doctrine. It makes subjects loyal and kings virtuous.

* Assises, ch. 282, 286, 308.

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anointed. Two prelates then presented him with a ring, denoting royalty; a sword, representing justice, for the defence of himself and the holy church; a crown, the sign of dignity; a sceptre, the mark of power; and an apple, the emblem of the land of the kingdom itself; repeating at the same time, say the Assises, the usual form of words. The prelates and barons cried aloud, 'long live the king;' and the king kissed the churchmen. The sacrament of the holy communion was administered, and the patriarch blessed the royal standard. The monarch offered his crown on the altar where our Lord had been offered by Simeon; and afterwards went to the temple of Solomon, which was the house of the knights templars, and took refreshment; and the burgesses of Jerusalem paid homage, and attended upon the king.*

Officers of state.

The great officers of the crown were the seneschal, the constable, the marshal, and the chamberlain. The general duties of the first of these ministers, were the superintendence of the fortresses, and the regulation of the estates and the household of the crown. On the day of the coronation he held the sceptre, while the standard was borne at different times by the constable and the marshal. The constable had the

* Assises, ch. 287, 288.

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management of all matters respecting judicial combats. The marshal did the duties of the constable in his absence. On the morning of the coronation, the chamberlain laid the robes of state in the chamber of the king. During the ceremony he carried the sword: and at the repast he presented water to the king when commanded by the seneschal. The presenting of a person also who wished to pay homage, was another part of his duty; and the robes of the vassal were his reward.*

Church establishment.

The patriarch of Jerusalem had five suffragan archbishops, namely, those of Tyre, Cesarea, Nazareth, Beiksereth, and Philadelphia: the last of these prelacies, in the time of Almeric, was given up, and Karac or Montreal was established in its stead. The patriarch had also three suffragan bishops, Lidda, Bethlehem, and Bron; one prior, and six suffragan abbots, five of whom bore the mitre, cross, and ring, the remaining abbot carried the cross only, and the prior had the mitre and the ring. There were also three suffragan abbesses. The archbishops of Tyre, Cesarea, and Nazareth, had suffragan bishops; but Philadelphia and Beiksereth had none, because those places were

* Assises, 289-292. The four great official honours were hereditary, as in most feudal countries of Europe.

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but for a short time in the hands of the Latins.* The archbishop of Montreal had a suffragan bishop, called the bishop of Mount Sinai. The bishop of Lidda had five suffragan bishops, and the bishop of Acre two.†

Territorial division and military strength of the kingdom.

There were four chief baronies of the kingdom, and many other lordships which had the privilege of administering justice, coining money, and, in short, most of those powers and prerogatives which the great and independent nobility of Europe possessed. The first chief barony comprised the counties of Jaffa and Ascalon, and the lordships of Ramula, Mirabel, and Ibelin. The second was the principality of Galilee. The third included the lordships of Sajetta, Cesarea, and Nazareth: and the fourth was the county of Tripoli‡ The court of each

* Assises, chap. 320, 316.

† Assizes, 316, 323. Like the clergy of the west, the clergy of Palestine were supported by tithes. The reader must be astonished at what Fuller pleasantly calls, "the numerosity "of Palestine bishops." The same quaint writer observes, "Bishops were too thickly set for all to grow great; and Pales- "tine fed too many cathedral churches to have them generally "fat." "Surely many of these bishops," to use bishop Langham's expression, "had high racks, but poor mangers." Fuller's Holy War, book ii. ch. ii.

‡ Some people contended that Karac or Montreal was the fourth barony: but the editor of the Assises denies it. Edessa and Antioch are never mentioned as being, in any manner, dependant on the kingdom.

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of these four eminent baronies had its constable and marshal; and the barons could not, like other freemen, be judged by the supreme court of the kingdom; but each baron, for any offence touching his life, his estate, or honour, was to be judged by his peers, namely the other three barons.* This last privilege gave them such power and liberty, that if it had not been for the obligation of military service, the aristocracy would have overshadowed the monarchy. But the dignity of these four great barons is shewn by the number of knights, which they were obliged to furnish, compared with the contributions of other nobles. Each of the three first barons was compelled to aid the king with five hundred knights. The service of Tripoli was performed by two hundred knights; that of the other baronies by one hundred and eighty-three knights.† Six hundred and sixty-six knights were the total number furnished by the cities of

* Ibelin refutes the idea that the constable and marshal of the kingdom could judge these four great lords. Assises, c. 324.

† The compiler of the Assises appears to labour under some want of information respecting the services of most of the baronies. He gives a list of the baronies which had the privilege of high courts of justice, but he mentions only a few of them when he comes to speak of the state of military service.

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Jerusalem, Naplousa, Acre, and Tyre.* The churches and the commercial communities of every part of the kingdom provided five thousand and seventy-five serjeants or serving men.†

Tenure of land.

The king could grant both proper and improper fiefs out of the kingdom of Jerusalem, with or without service, to clergy and to laity. The tenants of the crown might sell their fiefs, and create new tenants for themselves, subject to feudal services. But subinfeudation was checked by the law forbidding the dismemberment of a fief which owed only the service of one knight:

* Sanutus (p. 173) mentions these four cities as forming the property of the king.

† Assises, ch. 324, 331. The military serjeants fought both on horseback and on foot, under some chief, and they were distinguished from the soldier or stipendiary warrior, because they served in consequence of feudal tenure. Bearing in mind the fact, that, according to the custom of the age, each knight must have had at least three men at arms, the military strength of the country was nominally about twelve thousand men. But, according to Sanutus, it only consisted of five hundred and eighteen knights, and four thousand seven hundred and seventy-five serjeants. The authority of Sanutus cannot be put in competition with that of the Assises. It is probable, however, that he speaks of some actual muster when the kingdom was reduced by perpetual wars. In the battle of Tiberias there were twelve hundred cavaliers, and twenty thousand men on foot, armed with the long and cross bow. On that occasion there was a sort of levy *en masse* in the country. The military friars and the red-cross knights were also included in the review.

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and if any alienation were made without the consent of the lord, and against the customs of the country, then the land became forfeited to the lord. Fiefs could be given to heirs special as well as heirs general; to heirs male or female. In every instance of equality of claim in respect of heirship, the heir male was preferred to the female. In case of total failure of issue, the land reverted to the lord.* Fiefs were of rents, of pensions, of money, as well as of land. In cases where a man bought or acquired land from a lord, he could not swear fealty without a reservation of the claims and services to his first lord: and consequently, when a man was tenant of several lords, he was obliged, in the event of war between those lords, to aid the first lord against the others. No unmarried woman, no son of a knight under the age of fifteen years, could purchase a fee, because women were incapable of performing feudal services, and minors were not competent witnesses in courts of justice†.

* In the Assises, fees in rents, &c. are called fié en besans, or fief de sodoier: the last title on account of pecuniary remuneration for military services. The possessors of these fiefs were called solidarii, to distinguish them from the milites.

† Assises, c. 145, 147, 155, 152, 153, 183, 185, 192, 195, 222, 198. Plebeians could not purchase fiefs, because such people were incapable of performing military services. This

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Relation of a lord and his man.

When a man did homage to the chief lord of the kingdom of Jerusalem, or any other lord, he knelt before him, and put his hands between the lord's knees, and said, "Sire, I become "your liegeman for such a fief, and I promise "to guard and defend you against all people." The lord answered, "I receive you, and your "lands I will defend as my own:" and he then kissed his tenant on the mouth, as a pledge of faith. This homage could not be made to a lord who was not a member of the kingdom of Jerusalem, without the man reserving the allegiance which he owed to his former lord; but this exception was implied, and not expressed, when the second lord was a baron of Jerusalem, because all the barons and their tenants were liegemen of the king, according to the principles of the constitution, and were obliged to take to him the oath of allegiance;* and consequently the arrière vassals were bound to the

regulation was common in all countries subject to the feudal law. The first instance of a departure from it was in the year 1289, when king Philip granted to the viscount of Turenne the privilege of rendering the *ignobiles* capable of holding fiefs. Thaumassiere's note on ch. 198 of the Assises.

* The difference between homage to the sovereign and homage to the baron, that is, between liege homage and simple homage, seems to have been, that the former obliged the man to personal service in war, and the latter might be paid by deputy.

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lord.* If in the day of battle the man gave his horse and arms to his dismounted lord; if he became his hostage, and sold his fief for the ransom of his lord; then the lord was bound to the reciprocal duty of assisting and redeeming his man. Both the lord and his man were obliged to be each other's securities, as far as the value of the tenant's fief, and the lord was compelled to compensate his man for any injury which he might have sustained in consequence of having been bound for him. If the ransom of the lord were so great that the tenants could not collect a sufficient sum of money, they were obliged to tax their fiefs one besant, or one piece of gold per cent. As a last resource, in case of there being in the lordship any woman who had no presumptive heir, but whose fief would revert to the lord, then her husband was obliged to sell the property, in order to complete the ransom; and the lord, at his return,

* This fact accords with the genuine and early principles of feudalism. But it is certain, that during the existence of the kingdom of Jerusalem, a different practice prevailed through Europe, and the *arrière* vassals held only of the immediate lord, and owed no homage or oath to the lord paramount. The lord of Joinville personally respected St. Louis, yet refused to take an oath to him, on account of the dependency of the lordship of Joinville on the county of Champagne.

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was bound to give to the husband and wife an equivalent during their lives.*

In case of an altercation between the chief lord of the kingdom and a baron, the men of the baron were to advise the latter to have the cause decided by the supreme court; and threaten to make war upon him if he did not. If the chief lord promised him personal safety, he went to court with his men, who supported and counselled him on the hearing of his cause. But if the lord persisted in not having his cause adjudged by the supreme court, then the men might leave him, and go on horseback, and armed, to the chief lord, or by such other service as they owed him.† If a vassal had been

* Assises, ch. 273.

† Assises, ch. 205—209. The circumstance mentioned in the text is another proof of the personal connection between the sovereign and the arrière vassal, and of the monarchical nature of the government. Thus in chapter 222, it is said, "Se un home a plusiors seigneurs il peut sans mesprendre de "sa foy aider son premier seigneur, pourceque il est devenu "home des autres sauve sa loiauté, et aussi peut il aider à "chascun des autres, sauf le premier, et sauf ceaus à qui il a "fait homage avant que à celuyaque il vodra aider." There is no provision in the assises for the case of a lord paramount refusing to do justice. By the ordonnances of St. Louis, an arrière vassal was not obliged to aid his immediate lord if the lord paramount offered to do justice; but if the lord paramount refused to do justice, then the arrière vassal was compelled to

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imprisoned without the sentence of the court, the tenants should demand his person from the lord, and request that he might be tried by his peers. If the lord did not deliver him, or give such a reason for his detention as might be satisfactory to the court, then the court might go to the prison, and deliver him by force or otherwise, so that the lord himself was not hurt, for against him they could not carry arms. If the lord persisted in keeping him in prison, then the chief lord should interfere, and do justice. If the lord dispossessed a tenant without the judgment of the court, or did a wrong of any description, the men of the court were to demand that the cause should be legally decided; and if the lord refused such demand, then the noble principles of natural equity declared, that the men of the court were not obliged to do him service, until he had done justice.* The life and property of a tenant were, after sentence of the court, at the mercy of the lord, if the tenant failed in his duty, of protecting and redeeming his master, or if he violated the person of his lord's daughter, or of his sister, while she lived unmarried in his house. If the tenant attainted

aid his immediate lord: and we know that the subjects of the English kings in France constantly aided their immediate lords in the national wars between England and France.

* Asssises ch. 211, 214, 219, 253.

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his lord in court of breach of the oath of fealty, the court would decide, that the tenant should, for the remainder of his life, hold his fee free from service.* At the summons of the lord, the tenant, armed, and on horseback, should attend him, or should go without him, both in and beyond the kingdom, for the term of a year, on the occasions either of the marriage of the lord† or the lord's daughter; or to defend the honour of the lord, or for the general good of the kingdom. The man was obliged to attend the court of his lord, to assist him with opinions, and to be counsel for any body, according to the lord's appointment, if he were not previously the adversaries' counsel; and should make such inquests into private wrongs and events, as the lord should direct. Thus the duties of warriors and judges were the duties of the men of the lord. Every man should be summoned to court by people of his own rank.‡ Default of service was punished by the loss of the fee for life.

* Assises, ch. 217.

† Lord Coke mentions the liability of tenants by knight's service, "to go with the king's daughter beyond sea to be mar- "ried." "There is a voyage royall of peace and amity, as "well as a voyage royall of war." Co. Litt. lib. ii. c. iii. s. 95, 69, b.

‡ Assises, ch. 230. When the tenant went out of the kingdom on his lord's affairs, the lord furnished him with necessaries.

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But cavaliers above the age of sixty, or evidently incapable of battle, were exempt: the lord took their arms and horse instead.* In cases of wrong doing, the lord and court of the wrong doer should decide, and where the wrong doer was the man of a lord that did not hold a court, then the king was the judge.†

If a man were vassal to another by gift, he could resign to his lord possession of the fief, and that action absolved him from his feudal duties; but were he in possession of a fief by inheritance, the consent of the lord to the resignation was required. But it does not appear that in any case he could rid himself of his duty of allegiance to his sovereign.‡

State of women.

As on the one hand the rights of women were preserved, and on the other the kingdom was in need of a military force, so the law required that every heiress should marry, and that her husband should perform the feudal duties.§ If she did not marry, or shew some satisfactory reason for refusal, the lord might enjoy her pro-

* Assises, ch. 233, 241. † Assises, ch. 259.

‡ Assises, ch. 272.

§ Sanutus (p. 174) is very unwilling to allow that women should succeed to fiefs in Palestine. He adds, "deberent etiam "in terra hostibus circumdata cuncta esse virilia et virtuosa; "cum vero femina dominatur, tota curia quasi effeminata "efficitur."

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perty as that of a tenant who neglected his duty. A damsel forfeited her inheritance if she married without the consent of the lord; but if he did not provide her with a husband, she might in open court* require him to present to her three men, for her selection of one; and if the lord did not comply with the requisition, her subsequent choice in marriage was uncontrollable by the will of the lord. The widow's dowry was a moiety of her husband's estate for life, and also a moiety of his chattels; but if those chattels were not sufficient to pay his debts, the widow

* The age when the young lady might make this modest demand was twelve. That too was the age (as fifteen was that of males) when she might require from her guardian the uncontrolled management of her estate. Assises, ch. 167, 170, 190. The mother was guardian of the person and estate of the infant, and, if there was no mother, then the next heir supplied her place, ch. 188. "Le pere ou la mere doit avoir le bailliage de "l'eschecte de ses enfans, et que nul autre que pere ou mere "ne doit avoir ne tenir bailliage de fié se le fié ne li peut eschier "se il mesavient de l'enfant merme d'aage à qui le fié est escheu, "et parquoi l'ont requiert le bailliage; et le plus droit heir "doit avoir le bailliage de celui fié devant tous les autres heirs "se il le requiert." If the heiress was more than sixty years of age, she was not obliged to marry: for as the Assises gravely say, "il est bien sure chose et verable que mariage ne fut establi "pour multiplier le siecle sans pechié, et le est bien chose au "tens que Court orés, et qui a correu lonc tems a, que feme "qui a passé soixante ans se a perdu sa porure selone nature, "si seroit bien contre Dieu et contre raison de contreindre la "de prendre baron contre son gré."

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and the heir were obliged to contribute to the necessity in equal moieties.*

Debtor and creditor.

If a debtor were not a knight, he might be imprisoned till the debt was paid, unless he swore that all his property consisted of his garment, and the curtains to his bed; and in that case the creditor might keep him as his slave. Knights could not be put into prison, or sold to slavery; but their goods belonged to their creditors, and, contrary to the original principles of feudal law, their lands also were the property of the creditors. If the lands of a person not a knight were insufficient for the payment of his debts, and if no gage were given for the payment of the remainder within a year and a day, the lord was obliged, at the request of the creditor, to imprison the debtor.†

Courts of justice.

Reason and justice attempted to soften the military spirit of the age, and to preserve private rights by public. Two secular courts were established in Jerusalem; one was styled the supreme court, in which the king was jus-

* Assises, ch. 180, 187, 247, 248, 271, 242, 244. A moiety of the inheritance was also the widow's dower, by the Coutumes de Beauvoisis, p. 85. This was the general custom in France; but in Guienne and Angouleme, and other countries which had commercial and various connections with England, the dowry was a third.

† Assises, ch. 118, 119, 199.

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ticiary, and the other the court of burgesses,* where his officer, called a viscount, presided. The lords, too, of most of the baronies, and such of the clergy as were secular peers, had also their courts of burgesses and justice. So many of the inhabitants of Palestine had originally been Italian merchants, that the state of society in the holy land was not so absolutely feudal as that in many countries in Europe. The judges of the supreme court were knights who had sworn homage to the king; the judges of the other courts were wise and loyal citizens: and the causes of knights and burgesses could be heard only in their respective courts. But the ecclesiastics were allowed to decide all matters relating to birth, marriage, and wills; and consequently most questions, purely civil, were in some measure subject to clerical decision. Every barony had also its court for the administration of justice among the feudal tenants: and as long as the assise law was the general code of the country, the Syrians and other Christians who had been established in Palestine before the crusades, were allowed to be judged by their own customary law, and had their own officers in

* Nobles and plebeians always had different judges. The former were judged by their peers; the latter, by the mayor and seniors of the city. Beaumanoir, ch. 67.

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the court.* The judges were exhorted to do justice, unbiassed by fear, hatred, praise, or reward. The advocates were to offer nothing but truth in their pleadings. Truth also was to be clothed in courteous phraseology, and the virtue of secresy was a great part of their duty.† As no man, say the Assises, can plead his own cause so well as that of another, every suitor was advised to apply to the justiciary for permission to have counsel: one would be named at the discretion of the judge, the other at the request of the party. The advocates were to be men who owed fealty to the lord, and who assisted him with their judgments. Counsel would never be assigned to a man who commenced his suit contrary to manifest justice, and the advice of the court. In causes between the lord and his vassal, the lord could only have two counsel: but when his antagonist was not his vassal, the number of his counsel was unlimited, while that of his antagonist was con-

* Assises, ch. 2, 5, 22. The Franks must have willingly conceded this privilege; for diversities of codes of laws had been very common in the new kingdoms which the barbarians of the north had founded in the south of Europe: and different jurisdictions were common in the twelfth century.

† The Assizes are silent on the question whether their advocates were paid for their services. "Li advocats puet penre "salaire," is the language of the Coutumes de Beauvoisis, p. 15.

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fined to two.* As all the members of the court owed allegiance to the lord, they could not assist a stranger in his suit against the lord and his men without the leave of their superior. Causes were prosecuted and defended by *viva voce* pleadings. In case of the absence of a man against whom another had a suit, the lord was requested to summon him to the court by the banier, or by three of his men.† If the defendant could not exculpate himself, he might defer the cause by positively denying the debt, and pledging himself that the assertion could be proved by the testimony of two Christians of the church of Rome‡, who were not at that time in Palestine, but who would in a short period return to the holy land, and, by declaration or battle, whichever might

* Assises, ch. 8-20.

† Assises, ch. 23, 28. The serjeant, or attendant on the court, who made proclamations and banns, was called le banier, or bannerius.

‡ In the high court two Christian witnesses were necessary for proof of age and lineage: and those witnesses might be either men or women; c. 67. Witnesses could not be taken from the perjured, traitors, bastards, slaves, those whose champions had been vanquished in battle, renegates, men who had served a year and a day with the Saracens against the Christians. The profession of the Roman Catholic religion was necessary in a witness. The testimony of priests and women was excluded, except to the simple facts of age and lineage: persons under fifteen years of age could not bear witness, ch. 70.

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be necessary, give ample proof of the injustice of the accusation. The court then would grant him the delay of a year and a day, and the nature of the action would be put into writing. If at that time the guarantees did not appear, the defendant was compelled to pay the debt; and if it should be proved that he had perjured himself, or said any thing which he knew to be false, he was attainted of falsity uttered in court, and could never again be received as a witness.* If the dispute had been raised respecting lands and houses within a town, and the defendant could prove that he had held them unmolested a year and a day, then his heritage could not be challenged, except in certain cases, and particularly where the demandant was a minor or absent. The court had always the power of adjourning a cause at their own will, or the request of either party; and if on the adjournment day either party did not come before sunset, or at least before the stars appeared, it was determined that the defaulter had lost his cause. The same event would befall him if he did not answer to the claim, or demand delay, except indeed he denied the cause of action, and no proof was given of its justice. In cases where a man was disseised, he might within forty days

* Assises, ch. 35, 49, ch. 36—38, 53.

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state his grievance to the lord, who, on the evidence of two or three men whom he sent to make the inquest, would reinstate the tenant in possession; and would in open court* warn the disseisor against a repetition of the act, who, if guilty again, should be at the mercy of the lord as a criminal guilty of force and violence. The request of the disseisee to the lord must have been made within forty days, unless sickness, imprisonment, or absence prevented it. If made within that time, the lord would of his own authority redress his tenant's wrongs, and the disseisin was then called novel. A delay beyond forty days was construed into a contempt of the lord, and the tenant could in that case only have his remedy by action.†

The crimes which took the inheritance of a fief from heirs were heresy and apostacy‡ in the ancestor, laying violent hands on the lord, and openly daring him in the field, or delivering him

* The number of men that formed a court varied. Thaumassiere, in p. 373, in a note under Beaumanoir, mentions a case when four were enough. The customs of Paris seem to prescribe two persons as the number to make an inquest on a civil case. Brodeau sur l'art, 3 de la Cout. de Paris.

† Assises, ch. 63.

‡ In cases of apostacy the criminal was to be burned. If he were tenant of an estate in right of his wife, it would revert to her and her heirs, and not to the lord, ch. 274.

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to an enemy; or being vanquished in, or not answering to an appeal of treason, or in case of treason proved by witnesses. The same punishment followed the letting of an estate to an enemy without leave of the lord; except indeed the tenant of the fee could allege poverty as his reason.* The loss of the fee for life was the consequence of refusing homage, or the call to arms, or of breach of faith to the lord, or of declining an appeal of murder or homicide. But in these instances the lord had the privilege of pardon. Some inferior cases of disobedience to the lord were punished by the loss of the fee for a year and a day. But the fief could never be taken from a man without a decree of the court.†

Trial by battle.

The most common mode of determining the merit both of civil actions and criminal processes, was the Trial by Battle. The origin of this mode of decision was coeval with the rudest beginnings of society, when all considerations were personal, and revenge was the object of punishment. The general benefits of national communities were not known; public interests

* Assises, ch. 201.

† Assises, ch. 202, 206. The Coutoumier of Beauvoisis says, that if the lord seized the land of his vassal without the decree of the court, he was obliged to reinstate him before he could compel him to answer in court; ch. 2.

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had not superseded private feelings: and it was thought to be no violation of duty to his country, for a warrior to despise the decisions of civil magistracy. When the people of Europe became Christians, they considered that God was the immediate and active judge of human events,* and that Heaven would support or confound the man who truly or falsely took an oath of his own innocence. As this custom of allowing negative proofs was connected with the duties of religion, it was encouraged by the clergy; while the proud nobility were equally zealous in their wish of maintaining their rights by the sword. Among military nations the trial by battle prevailed over the ordeal, and other appeals to heavenly interposition; and the Franks carried the warlike custom into Palestine. The causes which were to be tried by battle, and which could not be decided by the court without it, were murder, treason, apparent homicide, quarrels respecting a mark of silver or more, improper language from a feudatory to his lord,

* Dante, it should seem, was on this subject not above his age; for he was of opinion that the judgment of God might be procured by single combat. De Monarchia, p. 51, &c. Opere, tom. v. Venez. 1760. For the extent of the practice of judicial duels among the early nations of Europe, see the thirty-ninth Dissertation of Muratori, in the third volume of the Antiquitates Italiæ Med. Ævi.

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and of all other things which concerned life, members, and right honour.* In civil cases, if the defendant could not invalidate the testimony of the plaintiff's witnesses, he might openly declare him to be false and perjured, and that he would prove him a dead man or recreant in some hour of the day.† He then exclaimed, "behold my gage," and delivered it on his

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* Assises, ch. 81: "les choses de que il y a bataille par "l'assise ou l'usage dou royaume de Jerusalem dequoi l'on ne "se peut deffendre par esgart ou par connoisance de court sans "bataille—." According to the customs of the Beauvoisis, the judge often decided from the notoriety of the fact, and without witnesses or battle. Beaumanoir, p. 308, 239, 322, 324. "It would be a hard thing," says Beaumanoir, "that if any one "had killed my near relation in open day, before many credi-"table persons, I should be compelled to fight in order to "prove his death." "This reflection," as Mr. Hallam remarks, "is the dictate of common sense, and shews that the prejudice "in favour of judicial combats was dying away." Middle Ages, vol. i. p. 109. The christians in Palestine seem to have been more barbarous than their brethren in the west. We do not read in the Assises of the liberty of paying a fine as a compensation for injuries. The satisfying of resentment by money instead of blood, is the first step which a rude people make to the formation of an equitable judicial system.

† "En une oure dou jour." Mr. Kendall (p. 94. n. of his learned tract on the Appeal of Murder) inquires, whether this expression means "forthwith," or "at any time," or "in the twinkling of an eye." The expression is similar to that of Bracton, "unâ horâ diei." The challenged person was declared conqueror if the battle lasted until night.

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knees to the lord: the other party did the like; and the lord, on his mutual charge of falsehood,* appointed a day for the battle.† In cases of the pledge being offered by a knight to a common person, the battle was to be fought on foot; because the appellant ought to follow the defendant in his law; and it would be unjust for a cavalier to fight on horseback a man who was on foot.‡ The counsel for the parties then informed the lord, that the several witnesses would be ready at the appointed day to prove the rights of their respective friends.

The appeal of murder, that is to say, the call to battle, must have been answered when made by husband or wife, persons connected in consanguinity and affinity, godsons and daughters,

* ("This done, the honour of each party is at stake; and "the principle that a brave man utters nothing which he is not "able to defend with his body, is that upon which the weapons "are raised.") Kendall, p. 91. In chivalric encounters, as well as in judicial combats, one great object of battle was the support of truth and honour.

Soggiunse poi Rinaldo: Ciò ch'io provo
Col testimonio, in vo' che l'arme sieno,
Che ora, e in ogni tempo che ti piace,
Te n' abbiano a far provo più verace.

Orlando Furioso, canto 31, st. 102.

† In an appeal of murder or of homicide, the battle was fought on the third day; in all other cases on the fortieth.

‡ Assises, ch. 73.

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godfathers and mothers, the countrymen of the murdered person if he were a new pilgrim, all his fellow passengers in the ship, all those who had been in his company within a year and a day before the murder, all his feudatories, and if he were a member of any society, then all his brethren. But the lord could not receive a gage of battle from a father against a son, or a son against a father; or from one brother against another brother.* Murder was defined to be the slaying of a man by night, or in his sleep, whether within or without a town; and he who wished to make an appeal of murder, should carry the dead body before the house of his lord, or to the place appointed for such purposes; and the lord, at the request of his counsel, should send three men, one as his representative, and two in the name of the court, to view the body. If they brought in a verdict that the dead man had been murdered, the lord, at the request of him who had appealed, confined the suspected murderer and his accessaries. If the accused person owned the murder, he was hanged; but if he denied

* It is not expressed, but it is most probable that a gage might be accepted between two brothers of the half-blood. Relations in that degree of affinity might wage private war against each other, though brothers of the full blood might not. Beaumanoir, p. 299.

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the murder, the lord confined him; and if no appeal were made in a year and a day, he was released. He who wished to make an appeal of murder of any person who had been murdered, and shewn to the court, should proclaim in court by his counsel, "Sire (addressing "himself to the lord), such a man declares that "such a man (both parties being in court) is a "murderer; and if he denies it, he (the appel-"lant) is ready to prove it, his own body "against his; he will either slay him or make "him call for mercy, in some hour of the day." He then on his knees presented his gage to the lord. The same ceremony took place when the appeal was made by a champion. In that case the appellant was in the unhappy predicament, that if he did not bring his champion at the appointed day, he himself was attainted of murder. If, in an appeal, the appellant charged the appellee with murdering a man, and of giving him blows which caused his death, the appellee's counsel might object that this was joining two charges, viz. murder and homicide; and the appellee should be dismissed.

Gages were delivered in homicide. But before the battle the appellant must have proved his charge by two witnesses. Until their appearance in court, the appellee was imprisoned.

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After their appearance, and having sworn to the fact, they, together with the appellant and appellee, were confined. On the day of battle the ceremonies were nearly the same as in a case of murder. But it was almost impossible to conclude an appeal of homicide, because the appellee might object to the person of any witness; which objection might be repeated against the witnesses who were brought in defence of the first witness; and thus the cause could never be decided. Though the law encouraged battle in cases of murder, but not in those of homicide, yet a seeming facility was given to duels for the latter crime, because, if the deceased fell by many wounds, the person entitled to make appeal might appeal for as many battles as there were wounds.* In cases where treason was not apparent, the lord was not obliged to accept the gage of the appellant. The tenant might have battle with his lord if his statement that his lord had failed in giving him protection, or in the performance of any other feudal obligation, was unopposed;† and if any man appealed against a tenant for any wrong done to the lord, the appellant was to declare the charge and offer the gage. The tenant denied the offence, and then gave his gage to the lord, who appointed a day

* Assises, ch. 87, 88, 91, 93, 94, 110. † Ibid, 95-99.

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of battle. The knights in appeals of murder and homicide were to fight on foot.* The heads both of the appellant and appellee, were to be shaven; their coif, or skull-cap, was to be taken off; they were to have red buskins, and a red coat of arms, or garment, reaching to the knees. Their bucklers were to be large, with eyelet holes. The weapons of each combatant were one lance, and also two swords, one of which should be attached to his side, and the other to the shield. On the morning of the day of combat, between six and nine o'clock,† the parties repaired to the house of the lord and presented their arms, which the lord examined,‡ and then sent into the place of combat. The knights were sworn that they carried with them no charms or sorceries, and that they had not been instrumental in injuring their adversaries by similar means.§ In the place

* In an appeal to battle for other crimes than murder, the parties, if knights, fought on horseback. The general ceremonies in France respecting battle strongly resemble those in Palestine. See Houard, Anciennes Loix des François, vol. i. p. 265-267.

† Entre prime et tierce, c. 102.

‡ Particularly whether the lances were of the same length.

§ An oath similar to this was among "the sacred laws of "arms" in all countries. Thus in the time of Richard II. the duke of Hereford, the appellant against the duke of Norfolk, swore that he dealt with no witchcraft, nor art magic, whereby he might obtain the victory of his adversary; nor had about

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of combat the defendant knelt, and, placing his right hand on the Testament, swore before God and the holy evangelists, that he did not commit the murder of which he was accused. The appellant said that he lied; and then swore on the Gospels that the appellee did commit the murder. The combatants were placed in their stations, and proclamation was made that no one should assist them. If the body of the murdered person were brought into court, it was placed in one part of the field all naked; and if the battle was to be fought by champion, the appellant should stand near the body, but in such a manner that nothing which he said or did could be heard or seen by the combatants. The keepers of the court watched the battle. If either party uttered the word 'recreant,' the other was called upon to pause; the recreant knight was taken to the lord, and immediately hanged. If death, and not the call for mercy, was the consequence of the combat, still the punishment of hanging was inflicted.*

him any herb or stone, or other kind of experiment which magicians use to triumph over their enemies. Hollinshed, p. 1100. See too the laws of the Lombards, book 2. tit. 55, sec. 11, cited in Montesquieu, L'Esprit des Lois, livre 28. c. 22.

* Assises, ch. 100—102.

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The trial by battle was allowed in cases of larceny, or highway robbery, or personal violence; but charges of these offences must have been proved by two witnesses; the appellee was compelled to fight either of these witnesses, and if the witness were conquered, he and the appellant should be hanged. An additional subject for execution was made when the witness fought by his champion, and the champion was vanquished. When a woman was an appellant, and her witness and his champion lost her cause, then the fate of the woman was burning, and hanging was that of the other persons. Champions were allowed both to appellants and appellees when they were women, and men decrepit, or more than sixty years of age. In the case of other persons, the battle was deferred.* If a knight charged another knight with striking or wounding him, the accused person might by oath deny the charge; but if he did not take the

* Assises, ch. 104, 108, 105, 107. The allowance of champions to appellees is mentioned in ch. 107, and other places. It appears from ch. 244, that they were allowed also to appellants. "Plusiers fois est avenu que se un home qui a "soixante ans passés appelle au est appellé de chose ou il "offere bataille, que il s'en deffent ou mostre par champion de "son bon gré ne le veaut faire de son cors, &c." The context shows that women who were appellants might also fight by champion.

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oath of purgation, he forfeited one thousand besants to the lord, and the equipments of a war horse to the knight. But if a plebeian dared to strike a knight, the offender was to lose his right hand, on account of the superiority of knighthood over all other classes. If a knight struck an inferior person, or an inferior person struck his equal, one hundred besants to the lord, and the same sum to the injured man, formed the penalty. Domestic altercations were to be regulated by religion and manners, for personal injuries between husbands, wives, children, and slaves, were not actionable.*

But it was not for the decision of private wrongs only† that the trial by battle was allowed. A man who had been proved guilty by witnesses, or general notoriety, might impeach the proceedings and decision of the court, and the singular spectacle was exhibited of a criminal fighting with his judges. If any man were so rash as to offer his gage against the court, he was obliged to fight all the members of the

* Assises, ch. 116, 117.

† There is no prohibition of public wrongs in the Assises. A council of barons and prelates at Naplousa, in 1120, formed an imperfect criminal code. But little useful knowledge can be gained from it. The learned reader knows where to find it; and as its description of offences and punishments is very disgusting, I shall not open the subject to the general student.

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court one by one, as well those who had cognizance and decided his cause, as those who had not; for the man impeached the court, and all the members of it were concerned in preserving its honour: besides, a man who had been attainted, conquered, or proved guilty of falsehood, could never afterwards be a witness, and a court which had been impeached could have no valid jurisdiction in future. On the day of battle the appellant appeared on one side of the field, and all the members of the court on the other. The appellant selected his antagonists in what order he chose, but the halter awaited him, unless he vanquished them all in one day. All those whom he conquered, that is, made recreant, were to be hanged also.*

* Assises, ch. 111. It is evident that an appeal of false judgment was not likely to have been made under the law of the Assises: but in the Beauvoisis the accused asked the lord to make the peers give judgment out aloud: then on the first person giving it, the party called him liar, and the battle was only between these two persons. If the judge were defeated, the court did not lose jurisdiction: but if the criminal waited till all the peers had decided, then he must fight all; and if he conquered them all, the court lost jurisdiction for ever. Beaum. 314. But it seems to have been a general law that an appeal of false judgment could not have been made in the king's court, because an appeal supposed an equality between the parties, and no one was equal to the king. Consequently, where the lord dreaded an appeal against his proceedings, he removed the

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Villains and slaves.

The villains and slaves were out of the jurisdiction of both courts of justice; they had no rights; no possessions; but were in every respect considered as cattle. If any person should harbour the villains of another lord, and refuse to render them, the injured lord ought forcibly to enter the lands of the wrong doer and seize the villains. If any male villain married a female villain without the consent of her lord, the lord of the male villain was compelled to give to the other lord a villain of equal age with her who had been married: but if the parties had been united with the consent of the lord of the female villain, then no return could be demanded.* Such were the laws as practised in Palestine respecting villains. In the year 1350 some new regulations were made at Cyprus, which still further shew the degraded state of a useful class of people. He who harboured a runaway male villain, paid as the price of the fugitive two hundred golden besants. One hundred pieces of the same coin was the value of a female villain: and this last-mentioned sum was fixed as the pecuniary worth of a slave, whether male or female. It is curious that a female falcon was valued at one hundred

cause into the king's court, or got some of the king's officers into his. Defontaines, c. 22. act. 14.

* Assises, ch. 277, 278.

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besants, and a male at fifty. But the war-horse (la chevaucheur) was worth three hundred besants.*

Religious and military orders.

Before we return to the general history of Palestine, some account should be given of those military and religious orders which were formed in the interval of the first and second crusades. The kingdom of Jerusalem attained its zenith of power by the valour of its barons, and of the fresh bodies of heroical votaries who arrived after the capture of the city; and it was supported through all its succeeding revolutions by several of those societies which marked the days of chivalry. One great object of the Christians in Syria was the permanent possession of Jerusalem, and for this purpose the extension of the Latin power in Asia was indispensably necessary. Holy and military ardour had given rise to the crusades; the same veneration for the sepulchre, and hatred of the infidels, kept the flame alive, and the principle varied in its appearance according to the different circumstances of affairs. It gave energy and life to one association which was formed for the protection of the unarmed palmer. In other cases military virtues were engrafted upon a foundation of benevolence.

* Assises, 310, 312.

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Knights of St. John.

The great charitable establishment* for Christians in Jerusalem, felt every gale of the political storm which convulsed Palestine in the last half of the eleventh century; and the oppressed and persecuted members had only the hope of better times for their consolation and support. New vigour was given to their virtue when the Crusaders were triumphant; the hospital received the wounded soldiers, and so self-denying were the administrators of charity, that the bread which they ate was made from the coarsest flour mixed with bran, while that which was given to the sick was formed from the purest meal. The benevolence of the Latin residents was beheld with affectionate respect by the Crusaders. Godfrey enriched the hospital by the gift of an estate in Brabant, and many of his companions devoted themselves to the perpetual service of the way-worn pilgrims. The association gradually acquired importance; and, feeling the weight of the charge, Gerard, the abbot, proposed to his brethren to renounce the world, and to take a religious habit. The lay members separated themselves from the church of St. John the Almoner, and became a congregation under the more august tutelage of St. John the Baptist. The patriarch of Jerusalem accepted their vows of chastity, poverty,

* See p. 14, ante.

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and obedience, and invested them with a plain black robe, having a white linen cross of eight points on the left breast.* By a bull of Pope Paschal II. (A. D. 1113) the hospital was put under the protection of the Holy See, and had the valuable privileges of electing its own superintendent, and of exemption from payment of tithes. The government was of an aristocratical constitution; but in the deliberations of the council, the voice of the master was equal to two suffrages. In the time of Raymond Du Puy,† the friars became soldiers.‡ Their re-

* Between the years 1278 and 1289 an alteration was made in the dress of the knights. The grand master and his council enacted, that while the brethren of the hospital were engaged in military duties they should wear over their clothes a red military cassock, with a white cross strait. The long black mantle or habit could never be dispensed with in the house. The statutes of the order are full of regulations respecting dress. One of them is worthy of being extracted. "It becomes a religious "man to be polite in body as well as in mind, and therefore "we enjoin our brothers to dress themselves decently and "handsomely, forbidding them expressly, for the future, to "wear any dress that is not fit for their condition, particularly "short clothes, unless they are on a journey, or on shipboard, "or on guard."

† Raymond du Puy was grand master from 1121 to 1160.

‡ The exact year when the order took a military character is not settled. Vertot argues, that it must have occurred before the year 1130, for the services of the Hospitallers to the king of Jerusalem are mentioned in a papal bull of that date. True: but the distinction of knights and serving brothers was not

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venues were more ample than the largest demands of charity; and as hostility to the Muselmans was equally virtuous with benevolence to Christians, the fraternity of St. John resolved that the sword should be drawn against the enemies of the Latin kingdom. The Hospitallers were accordingly divided into three classes —nobility, clergy, and serving brothers.* The

known till the year 1153, in the short pontificate of Anastasius IV. The bull which authorized this distinction also confirmed the society in its exemptions from ecclesiastical jurisdiction and the payment of tithes. These exemptions were of great importance on events, as we shall see in the course of this history.

* These serving brothers did the ordinary duties of the hospital, and also fought in the ranks. Serjiens or serjens is the old French word for a servant or inferior person of any description. It is derived from the Latin serviens, and the change from the V to the G was a common circumstance in the formation of the French language from the Latin. The word was also used figuratively, in ages, when, in the close disguise of the heart, ideas of love were mixed with ideas of religion. The phrases, serjens de Dieu and serjens d'amour, are common in old authors. (We remember Shakspeare's phrase, "affection's men at arms.") The word serjens became used in courts of justice, from the circumstance, that anciently the seneschals and bailiffs employed their domestic servants to execute the commands of the judges. The titles of beadle and serjeant were generally synonymous; but, in the old Coustumier of Normandy it seems that the serjeants were those who executed malefactors, and the beadle did the inferior duties of the court. See Pasquier's Recherches, liv. viii. cap. xix., and Menage, Dict. Etymol, ed. Jault., article Serjent. The phrase, chevaliers en loix, is to be found in the prologue to Beaumanoir: so that,

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preservation of the unity of religious opinions, the practice of every Christian virtue, and the destruction of the Muselmans,* were the professed objects of the association.† Personal chastity, and absolute resignation to the will of the council, were vowed by the members; and their attachment to the order was preserved by their incapacity of holding estates except in common with their brother knights. Like all other cavaliers they were taught that the greatest service which they could render to the Christian world, was the endangering and sacrificing of their lives in battle with the infidels;‡ but he who deserted the ranks, or sent

even in the thirteenth century, chivalric names were applied to legal dignities. The occasion of the title, serjens en loix, superseding the appellation, chevaliers en loix, does not appear.

* The modern knights of Malta vowed never to make peace with the infidels. The knights might defer their vows, and they seldom made them till sure of a commandery.

† Among the laws of internal discipline there are a few worthy of notice. In opposition to the general practice of the middle ages, the knights were not permitted to sleep naked; but were to be dressed in woollen, linen, &c. They were not to talk at dinner or in bed. He who struck his companion was to fast during forty days: and the parties to a quarrel were for seven days to dine on the ground, without the luxury of a table-cloth, and to undergo a rigorous fast on Wednesday and Friday.

‡ "Chevaliers en ce monde cy
"Ne peuvent vivre sans soucy:
"Ils doivent le peuple défendre,
"Et leur sang pour la foy espandre."

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or accepted a challenge to a private combat, was deprived of the habit and cross of the order.* When not engaged in war, the various duties of the hospital occupied the knights; and even the heroes of Greece were not more zealous than the heroes of Palestine in healing the wounded soldier or pilgrim. The king of Jerusalem willingly accepted the military succours of the new society. The admirers of piety and valour either joined their standard, or enriched their coffers; every country† of Europe had preceptories,‡ and the great men

* The putting of the habit on the candidate was the mode of initiation; and it was torn off when he was banished from the society. Thus, when an esquire was admitted into the order of knighthood, the buckling on of the spurs was the first ceremony of the investment; and the hacking them off was the mark of degradation.

† The Hospitallers came into England in the reign of Henry the First. Their first priory was established at Clerkenwell, by Jordan Briset, of Wellinghall, in Kent. The *original* edifice was set fire to and destroyed by the rebels in the year 1381: The new building was not perfectly finished till 1504. Bucklands, in Somersetshire, was the principal house in England for the nuns or sisters of the order of St. John. Dugdale, Mon. Angl. ii. 505. Stow's London, book iv. p. 62, ed. 1720. Pref. to Tanner, Not. Mon.

‡ Cowel, and a thousand writers after him, have given the word preceptory, as the name for the estates of the Templars, and commandery for those of the Hospitallers. But in truth,

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sent their sons to the hospital of St. John, in order that they might practise religion, and be trained up in knightly discipline and feats of arms.*

For more than two centuries after the institution of the order, a postulant for the first class or grand cross presented proofs of the gentility of his father and mother.† But the order be-

until the year 1260, the estates of the Hospitallers were called preceptories. From that year they were called commanderies (the letters from the hospital to their colonies, beginning with the word commendamus). It was then that the finances of the order were put on a new footing, and as the wars in Palestine were expensive, and the officers in distant countries selfish and corrupt, the knights at Jerusalem resorted to the experiment of constraining their agents to send to Palestine every year a specified sum, without regard to circumstances or difference of seasons.

* Jacob. de Vit. cap. lxiv. Archb. of Tyre, lib. xviii. c. 3, 4. The Bulles of Paschal the Second and Boniface, and the Statutes of the Order in the Appendix to Vertot's History of the Knights of St. John. From Heylot, Hist. des Ordres, vol. iii. c. xii. little or nothing additional to the common accounts can be gained.

† Considering that the cavaliers were to be as pure as vestals, it is singular that the chastity of their mothers was not looked to. Legitimacy does not seem to have been a matter of moment. No regulation on the subject was made till the time of Hugh de Revel, who was grand master from 1262 till 1268. The order then enacted, that no person could be admitted to profession, if either himself or his father had not been born in lawful wedlock, except, however, the sons of counts and persons of high rank and

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came scrupulous with respect to the admission of participators of the highest distinctions, when wealth and letters changed the face of society, and the aristocracy of birth became alarmed for the existence of its exclusive privileges. In France, the postulant was required to shew that his father, his paternal and maternal grandfathers, and great grandfathers too, were gentlemen, by name as well as by arms. A proof of this description formed eight quarters of gentility. In Italy, the blazon and arms of the father and mother, and of the paternal and maternal grandmothers, were required. Each of these families must have had a known gentility for two hundred years past. In Genoa, Lucca, and Florence, however, the commercial spirit of the people softened aristocratical haughtiness, and the *sons* of merchants, bankers, and tradesmen might be candidates for the honour of knights grand crosses. In Spain* and Portugal

quality. In after times it was decreed, that the postulant must be born likewise of a mother that was a gentlewoman by birth. In the mastership of Adolphe de Vignacour (A.D. 1601-1622) the exception concerning illegitimacy was still further limited to the case of sons of kings and other sovereign princes. Some years afterwards it was abolished altogether.

* As the Spaniards carried their notions of nobility higher than the Germans, it is singular that they should not have been more pure in their fancies on the necessary gentility for a knight grand cross. "When the nobility of Arragon appeared before

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four quarters of gentility were required. But in Germany, sixteen was the number, and they must have been of families, the individuals of which are capable of being members of collegiate bodies; and it was necessary that all their alliances should have been perfectly pure. The order of St. John was further divided into those who spoke the seven great languages of Europe, the English, the German, the Italian, that of Arragon, and the three great dialects of the French, namely, the Provençal, the Auvergne, and the common French. When in the days of Henry VIII. the English branch of the order was broken, and in consequence of the Re-

" their king, for the purpose of swearing allegiance, the justiza " exclaimed, ' We, who are each of us as good as your majesty, " ' and who are altogether more powerful than you, promise " ' obedience to your government, if you maintain our rights " ' and liberties; but, if not, not.' When the duke of Ven- " ' dôme made the Spanish nobility sign a declaration of alle- " giance to Philip the Fifth, some of them added to their names " the words, ' Noble as the king.' The duke bore this with " tolerable patience, but could not contain himself, when one of " them after these words added, ' and a little more.' ' Heavens!' " exclaimed the duke, ' you do not call in question the nobility " ' of the house of France, the most ancient in Europe?' ' By " ' no means,' replied the Spaniard, ' but, my lord duke, please " ' to consider, that, after all, Philip the Fifth is a Frenchman, " ' and I am a Castilian.' " Butler's Notes on the Revolutions of the Germanic Empire. Proofs and Illustrations, p. 275, 276, first edition.

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formation, no protestant Englishman could become a member of a catholic society, the languages of Castile and Portugal were introduced.

It was not until the time of John de Valette, grand master of Malta in the sixteenth century, that any statutes were made respecting the qualifications for brother chaplains and serjeants at arms. It was then decreed, that men of these classes of the order should be born of respectable parents, who had not been engaged in any servile art or business.

The Templars.

Italy gave birth to the fraternity of the military friars. Some French gentlemen founded the equally honourable institution of the Red Cross knights. The first and simple object of the former of these orders was the relief of the poor pilgrim; the original design of the latter was to watch the roads, and keep open the communication between Europe and the holy land. After the Christian world had been blessed with the news that Jerusalem was in the hands of Godfrey of Bouillon, the old and the young, the rich and the poor, took the road for Palestine as pilgrims, and too confidently expected that the angel of heaven would guard them from the predatory Turks. Their distresses excited the friendly sympathy of Hugh de Paganis, and Geoffrey de Saint Omer, and a few other

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knights. The example of humanity was imitated, and the new defenders of holy interests vowed to shed their blood in defence of the pious itinerants. As the object of the association was a religious one, the society imitated the hospitallers by taking a religious character. The soldiers of the pilgrims, such was one of the early titles of the French cavaliers, had their few personal necessities supplied by the knights of Saint John, and other Latin Christians in the holy land; but they became independent of casual bounty, as soon as the importance of their services was felt. Lands and other property were bestowed upon them in rich profusion, by those who were zealous to preserve sacred to the Christians a land which seemed pre-eminently favoured by Heaven. Baldwin I. assigned them for a residence part of the royal palace adjacent to the Temple of Solomon.*

* Brompton, col. 1008. Knighton, col. 2382. ap. decem Script. The soldiers of the Pilgrims were also called "milites "Christi," and "pauperes commilitionis Christi et templi "Solomonis." In memory of their primitive poverty, and in order that they might be mindful of humility, Hugh and Geoffrey had engraven on their seal the figures of two men on one horse. A rude cut of this seal is in the Historia Minor of Matthew Paris. It does not appear how long this singular stamp was used by the Templars. In the course of time it was changed for a device of a field argent, charged with a cross gules, and upon the nombril

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The exact year of the union of the French knights is not ascertained; but we know that the Order was confirmed in 1128, by the council of Troyes. The cavaliers, the Templars as they were now called from the place of their abode, soon periled themselves for the public good, as well as for the protection of individuals. They repressed the Muselmans in their frequent invasions of the Holy Land; and the original intention of the association was very soon abandoned: for, during the greatest part of the Crusades, the pilgrims repaired to the East by sea, and not by a long and hazardous march through Asia Minor.

thereof a holy lamb, with its nimbus and banner. In England, when lawyers became Templars, this device was assumed by the Society of the Middle Temple, about fifty years after the figure of the Pegasus had been taken by the Society of the Inner Temple. To return, for a moment, to the subject of the first seal. What, in the case before us, was the consequence of poverty, had not always so low an origin. In chivalry, the horse of a knight was almost as distinguished a being as the knight himself; and the strength of the one was in proportion to the valour of the other. It was so common, in works of romance, to multiply the duties and power of the steed, that Cervantes ridicules it. "And pray," said Sancho, "how "many persons will this horse carry?" "Two," replied the afflicted; "one upon the saddle, and the other upon the "crupper, and these are commonly the knight and the squire, "when there is no damsel to be stolen." Don Quixote, book iii. ch. viii.

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The gradations of rank in the Temple were those of serving men, esquires, and knights companions or brethren of the Temple. Their discipline and manners were founded on the three great monastic vows of chastity, poverty, and submission. Immediately on his reception into the society, a candidate for the title of brother was supposed to lose his individuality. He lived, as it was said, without anything which he could call his own, not even his thoughts and inclinations. The Master of the Temple warned him of the pains and dangers to which he would be exposed. He would often be compelled to rise, when he wished to sleep; to endure fatigue, when he most needed repose; to suffer hunger and thirst, when nature was crying aloud for refreshment; and to progress into one country, when he was most anxious to remain in another. There is something picturesque in the remarks of an old writer, that, "the Templars are simply "clothed; they are covered with dust, their "faces have become brown by the heat of the "sun, and their countenances are fierce and "severe. At the approach of battle, they take "for their protection faith within, and steel "without. They fear, neither the number, nor "the power of their foes, because conquest "stands not in the multitude of an host, but is

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" bestowed by Heaven. They are more de-
" sirous of victory than glory, more anxious to
" be dreaded than admired. All their confi-
" dence is placed in the God of battles; and in
" fighting for his cause, they seek either a
" certain victory or an holy and honourable
" death."*

The dress of the Knight Templar—for, in speaking of soldiers and of ladies, dress is no unimportant matter,—was in some respects monastic, and in others military. He wore a linen coif, and a red cap close over it. His helmet varied nothing from the helmet of the day: it had, however, no crest, for religious simplicity tempered in this instance, and in many others, religious pride.† Except that thin plates of steel protected the knees and feet, his person was defended by mail linked or interlaced after the Asiatic form. He wore a sopra vest,‡ and a broad belt with a sword inserted. His lance was the usual one of chivalry. A white monas-

* Exhortatio ad milites Templi. S. Bernardi, Opera, v. i. ed. Mabillon, 1690. It is a fable that St. Bernard framed the constitution of the Templar Society.

† Thus no silver nor other ornaments were allowed to be placed on the horse furniture. Stat. c. 37.

‡ The knights might not wear fur, the luxury of the middle ages. In winter, however, the use of the skins of sheep or lambs was permitted. Stat. c. 23.

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tic mantle*, which touched the ground, covered his chivalric harness. The Templars wore long beards, a fashion imitated from the Orientals, for the reverse was the custom of most religious orders. Such was the dress of the Brethren of the Temple, as appointed by Pope Honorius II. who filled the papal chair from 1124 to 1130. Pope Eugenius III. in the middle of the same century, commanded them to wear red crosses on their left shoulders, and hence their title, the Red Cross knights.† They were taught that the white garment was symbolical of the purity of their lives and professions; and

* In the infancy of the order, white was the colour worn by the inferior officers, as well as by the knights companions. But the colour was assumed by people in no wise connected with the Temple order, and great scandal was brought on the brethren. It was therefore commanded that the inferior officers of the house should wear black garments. Statutes, c. 21.

† A Templar somewhat resembled, in appearance, Spencer's red-cross knight:

> And on his breast a bloodie crosse he bore,
> The deare remembrance of his dying Lord,
> For whose sweete sake that glorious badge he wore,
> And dead, as living, ever him ador'd;
> Upon his shield the like was also scor'd,
> For soveraine hope, which in his helpe he had.
> Right, faithful, true he was in deede and word;
> But of his cheere did seem too *solemne sad*,
> Yet nothing did he dread, but ever was ydrad.
>
> Fairy Queen, book i. canto 1. st. 2.

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the red crosses were emblematical of the martyrdom which they would willingly undergo in defending the holy land from the hostile inroads of the infidels. Their great banner was called Beauseant: it was made of white linen, and ornamented with the cross of the order. The standard also carried in battle was white, with four black stripes, intimating the various conduct of the knights to Saracens and Christians. Beauseant was their word of courage; and Palestine rang as loudly with it, as with any of the war cries of other champions of the cross.

The order of the Knights Templars soon rose into power and dignity, the objects of the union being agreeable to an age when all was military violence or cloistered austerity.* Its eminent services to the great concern of Christendom were cheerfully repaid by a general exemption from the control of, as well as from contributions to the clergy. In most countries the privileges of the Templars and those of the

* The office of master of the Templars was so well known every where, that there is an expression for it in the Greek of the lower empire:—τέμπλι μαιστωρ. Du Cange, Gloss. ad Scrip. med. et. inf. Græcitatis. The French origin of the Templars was preserved in the phrase Φρερροι τι τεμπλι. This phrase is a proof of the universality of the French language. An historian of Catalonia, who wrote at the commencement of the fourteenth century, observes, that the French tongue was as well known at Athens and in the Morea as at Paris.

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Hospitallers were commensurate. The nobility of Europe* were divided in their regard to the military friars and the Red Cross knights. Personal purity, submission, and community of possessions, were the qualities of each order: and it would have been false and invidious to have asserted that one was more distinguished than the other, as "the nurse of manly sentiment and heroic enterprise." The former was a religious as well as a military institution; but the latter was not occupied by the specific duties of the hospital; and therefore while some people admired the union of piety and valour in the cavaliers of St. John, others, more

* The knights Templars came into England in the beginning of Stephen's reign. Their principal station was in Holborn, on the south side near Southampton Buildings. "For their "more conveniency," in the time of Henry II. they built and removed into their house in Fleet Street. Dugdale, Origines Juridiciales, cap. 57, ed. 1671. The great benefactor to the English Templars was Roger de Mowbray, who accompanied Louis VII. to the holy land in 1148. He granted to the order various manors in Leicestershire. The knights, as an honourable return, gave him the privilege of pardoning any Templar who was doing penance. But they did him the more valuable service of ransoming him from the Saracens, after the battle of Tiberias: for one journey to Palestine did not satisfy this pious chieftain. In the days of Edward III. the Hospitallers, as possessors of the lands of the Templars, conferred the privilege of pardoning offending knights upon John Lord Mowbray, the lineal heir of Roger. Dudgale, Baronage, 1. 122, 123.

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absolutely fond of war, embraced the discipline of the knights of the Temple.

Order of St. Lazarus

So often are ideas of merit associated with those of antiquity, that some historians of the order of St. Lazarus have traced its origin to a supposed association of Christians in the first century against the persecution of their Jewish and Pagan enemies. This account is fabulous. It appears certain, however, that in very early times Christian charity founded establishments for the sick. In the year 370 St. Basil built a large hospital in the suburbs of Cesarea, and lepers were the peculiar objects of its care. Those poor men were by the laws and customs of the East interdicted from intercourse with their relations and the world, and their case was so deplorable, that, according to unexceptionable testimony,* the emperor Valens, Arian as he was, enriched the hospital of Cesarea with all the lands which he possessed in that part of the world. Christian charity formed similar institutions in various places of the east. Lazarus became their tutelary saint, and the buildings were styled Lazarettos. One of these hospitals was in existence at Jerusalem at the time of the first crusade. It was a religious order, as well as a charitable institution, and

* Theodoret, lib. 4 cap. 16.

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followed the rule of St. Augustin. For purposes of defence against the Muselman tyrants, the members of the society became soldiers, and insensibly they formed themselves into distinct bodies of those who attended the sick, and those who mingled with the world. The cure of lepers was their first object, and they not only received lepers into their order, for the benefit of charity, but their grand master was always to be a man who was afflicted with the disorder,* the removal whereof formed the purpose of their institution. The cavaliers who were not lepers, and were in a condition to bear arms, were the allies of the Christian kings of Palestine.† The order was taken under royal protection, and the Jerusalem monarchs conferred upon it various privileges.‡

* This singular rule was abrogated about the year 1253, because the infidels had slain all the lepers in Jerusalem. The Pope thereupon permitted the order to elect a man for its master who was not a leper.

† The habit of those knights is not known: it only appears that the crosses on their breasts were always green, in opposition to those of the knights of St. John, which were white, and the red crosses of the Templars.

‡ But neither the names, nor the exploits of the knights of St. Lazarus, often appear in the history of the Crusades.

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THE SECOND CRUSADE.

The aspect of France favourable for a new Crusade—A Crusade necessary in consequence of the loss of Edessa—Character of St. Bernard—Crusade embraced by Louis VII. king of France, and the emperor Conrad III. of Germany—Their military array—March of the Germans—Conrad passes into Asia, disregarding the Byzantine emperor—Louis halts at Constantinople—Distresses of the Germans—Bravery of the French—and their subsequent disasters—Arrival of the French at Antioch—Eleanora—Firmness of Louis—The Crusaders reach Jerusalem—They depart from their original object—Siege of Damascus—Disgraceful failure—Return to Europe of Conrad and Louis.

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When the hour of battle arrived, the few valiant knights in the holy land wished for no participators in the glory of vanquishing their numerous foes; but the timorous and prudent clergy continually solicited the co-operation of Europe; and in the consternation throughout Palestine which the fall of Edessa occasioned, all classes of people beckoned their compatriots

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in the west. The news of the loss of the eastern frontier of the Latin kingdom reached France at a time peculiarly favourable for foreign war. After having reduced his vassal, the count of Champagne, to obedience, Louis VII. the French king, exceeded the usual cruelty of conquerors, and instead of sheathing his sword, when the inhabitants of Vetri submitted, he set fire to a church in which more than thirteen hundred of them had fled for refuge. His sacrilegious barbarity excited the indignation of the clergy and laity. A fit of sickness calmed his passions; his conscience accused and condemned him, and he resolved to expiate his sins by a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.* Louis VII. was the first sovereign prince who engaged himself to fight under the banner of the cross. The news of the calamities in Palestine quickened his holy resolution, and like other men he was impetuously moved by the eloquence of St. Bernard, the great oracle of the age. By the superiority of his talents, and also of his consideration in the eyes of Europe, this new apostle of a holy war was far more capable than Peter the Hermit,†

The aspect of France favourable for a new Crusade.

Character of St. Bernard.

* Il fit vœu de faire égorger des millions d'hommes pour expier la mort de quatre ou cinq cents Champenois. Voltaire, Essai sur les Mœurs des Nations, chap. 55.

† Bernard says it was entirely owing to the bad generalship of Peter, that in the first Crusade the populace were destroyed

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of exciting the tumultuous emotions of enthusiasm. From his ancestors, the counts of Chatillon and Montbart, Bernard inherited nobility; but he felt not its usual accompaniment, the love of military honour. His ardent and religious soul soon disdained the light follies of youth: and, casting off the desire of celebrity as a writer of poetry and songs,* he wandered in the fanciful regions of sanctified beatitude, or the rough and craggy paths of polemical theology. At the age of twenty-three he embraced the monastic life† at Citeaux; and soon

It is amusing to observe the contempt with which the saint speaks of the hermit. "Fuit in priori expeditione antequam "Jerosolyma caperetur, vir quidam, Petrus nomine, cujus et "vos (nisi fallor) sæpe mentionem audistis," &c. Epist. 363, p. 328, vol. i. Opera, S. Bernardi, edit. Mabillon, 1690.

* Imo magis mirandum esset, te eloquii urgeri siccitate, quoniam audivimus a primis fere adolescentiæ rudimentis cantiunculas mimicas et urbanos fictitasse. Neque certe in incerto loquimur opinionis, sed testis est alumna tui patria nostri sermonis. Berengarius' Letter to Bernard, in Opera Abelardi, p. 302. This passage I first met with in Mr. Turner's History of England, vol. i. p. 498, note 31.

† A Hindu or Mahammedan Faquir might envy Bernard his power of abstraction. After a year's noviciate, he did not know whether the top of his cell was covered with a ceiling, nor whether the church had more than one window, though it had three. See Butler's Lives of the Saints, vol. viii. p. 231, edit. 1812.

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afterwards, with the co-operation of about thirty other enthusiasts, many of whom were his relations, he founded the monastery of Clairvaux in Champagne. His miraculous eloquence severed the connections in social life; sons separated themselves from their fathers, and husbands dissolved the nuptial ties. Genuine fanaticism only could have followed a man who sternly told his admirers, that if they wished to enter his convent, they must dismiss their bodies, for their souls alone could dwell in a place which was sacred to contemplation and devotion. His self-denial and his earnestness for religion gained him the reverence of his contemporaries, and in the altercations between rival authorities, his decision was appealed to as that of an inflexible and incorruptible judge. When the clergy of Louis the Gross asserted the clerical prerogatives of exemption from taxes, and from submission to secular authority, Bernard supported the selfish and rebellious prelates, and treated the king as the enemy of God. In the war for the pontificate between Anaclet and Innocent II. he supported the cause of the latter; and by the display of his zeal and ability in France and Germany, he placed his friend in the chair of St. Peter. He reconciled the conflicting interests of Pisa and Genoa; and the Genoese thought that his

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disinterestedness was angelical, when he refused their offer of a bishopric. He was celebrated as a writer as well as a preacher, but he was far inferior both in genius and erudition to his distinguished contemporary, and he opposed him more successfully by authority than by argument. Abelard was the great supporter of the scholastic philosophy; and his love of disputation, unchecked by reverend and holy discretion, led him into some strange and absurd errors in theology. He was vain of the graces of his person, and proud of his intellectual powers. He presumptuously thought that his accomplishments were irresistible by the opposite sex;* and that it was by genius alone he had mastered those sciences which mortals, framed in nature's common mould, can only obtain by mute abstraction and solitary labour. Bernard exposed the

* Bayle, Art. Abelard, note G. Abelard's confidence in his powers of persuasion was not ill judged; for Eloisa tells us that he possessed two qualities which other philosophers had not, by which he could conquer the hearts of women. He wrote well, and he sung well. He made such elegant verses, and composed such beautiful airs, that all the world was delighted, and could speak of nobody but the author. Bayle, Art. Heloise, note F.

> Now singing sweetly to surprise her sprights,
> Now making layes of love and lovers paine.
>
> SPENCER.

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corruption and licentiousness* of the bishops and monks of his age. The austerity of his life.† fortified him against the seductions of the heart; and while he stood up to his neck in water for the purpose of cooling an amorous flame,‡ Abelard threw himself into the arms of his pupil Eloisa.

* He declared, with pious concern, that he knew several abbots, each of whom had more than sixty horses in his stable, and such a prodigious variety of wines in his cellar, that it was scarcely possible to taste the half of them at a single entertainment. Fleury, Hist. Ecc. 1. 73, cited by Maclaine, note to Mosheim, Ecc. Hist. Cent. 12. part 2. chap. 2. St. Bernard complained of the want of pecuniary charity in the clergy. "You may imagine," he says to them, "that what belongs to "the church belongs to you while you officiate there. But you "are mistaken: for though it be reasonable that one who serves "the altar should live by the altar, yet must it not be to promote "his luxury or his pride. Whatever goes beyond bare nourish-"ment and simple plain clothing, is sacrilege and rapine." Butler's Lives of the Saints, vol. viii. p. 240.

† This austerity nearly killed him. His language concerning his physician shews the pride of his mind. "I, who have "governed reasonable men, am now forced to obey this "animal."

‡ St. Bernard happened once to fix his eyes on the face of a woman, but immediately reflecting that this was a temptation, he ran to a pond, and leaped up to the neck into the water, which was then as cold as ice, to punish himself, and to vanquish the enemy. Butler's Lives of the Saints, vol. viii. p. 229.

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Crusade embraced by the king of France and the emperor of Germany.

The wish of Louis for a Crusade was applauded by Pope Eugenius the third. His intention was pronounced to be holy; and Bernard was ordered to travel through France and Germany, and preach a plenary indulgence to those who followed the royal example. Eugenius wrote to the faithful sons of the church, urging them to cross the seas to Palestine. The first Crusaders had provoked the wrath of Heaven by their dissoluteness and folly; but the new soldiers of Christ ought to travel simple in dress, and disdaining the luxury of falcons and dogs of the chace.* As Peter had represented the scandal of suffering the sacred places to remain in the hands of the infidels, the eloquent Bernard thundered from the pulpit the disgrace of allowing a land which had been recovered from pollution again to sink into it.† He was admitted to

* Otho Frising, lib. 1. c. 34. in Muratori, vol. vi. Rer. Scrip. Ital. The Pope also said that if a debtor were moved by the spirit of grace, the holy see absolved him from his obligations to man. But I doubt whether this acquittance were equal to a receipt in full: for the general practice in the days of the Crusade respecting debt was, that indemnity from the claims of creditors lasted only during the time of the holy journey, or for a certain number of years.

† On this oft repeated argument Fleury well remarks: "It "was said that the disgrace of Jesus Christ ought to be avenged. "But what he accounts an injury, and what truly dishonours

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A.D.1146.

the thrones of princes, as well as to the pulpits of their churches; to public assemblies and to private meetings. In a parliament held at Vezelai, in the season of Easter, 1146, Louis was confirmed in his pious resolve: and having on his knees received the holy symbol, he joined with Bernard in moving the barons and knights to save the sanctuary of David from the hands of the Philistines. No house could contain the multitude: they assembled in the fields, and Bernard addressed them from a lofty pulpit. As at the council of Clermont, so on this occasion, shouts of Deus id vult rent the skies: the crosses which the man of God had brought with him to the meeting fell far short of the number of enthusiasts; and he therefore tore his simple monkish garment into small pieces, and affixed them to the shoulders of his kneeling con-

" him, is the debauched life of wicked Christians, and such " were most of the Croises, which is far more odious to him " than the profanation of things inanimate, of buildings con- " secrated to his name, and of places which bring to our mind " what he suffered for us. What respect soever may be due to " holy places, his religion is not connected with them. He " hath declared this himself, when he said that the time " was coming when God should be worshipped neither in " Samaria nor in Jerusalem, but in all and in any places, " in spirit and in truth." Fleury, cited in Jortin, Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. iii. p. 336.

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verts.* The successful incendiary then crossed the Rhine; and every city and village from Constance to Carinthia echoed the call to war. The dukes of Bohemia and Turin, the count of Carinthia, the marquis of Styria and Montserrat, sanctified their military energies. Wherever Bernard moved, the credulous religionists conceived that celestial favour was with him; and they who could not understand his language,† were converted by his miracles. But the emperor Conrad III. made a long and firm denial. As politics prevented the exercise of religious fervour, the preacher endeavoured to impress him with the belief, that were he in arms for the kingdom of God, Heaven would protect his kingdom in Europe. Still the emperor wanted faith; but when the holy orator, in a moment of peculiar energy, drew an animated picture of the proceedings of the day of judgment, of the punishments which would be inflicted on the idle, and the rewards which would be showered upon the Christians mili-

* Labbe, Concilia, vol. x. p. 1100. Odo de Diagolo, in the twelfth volume of Bouquet, p. 91-94.

† The favourite text of Bernard seems to have been Romans, xiv. 8. The preacher argued, that if those persons are happy who die *unto* the Lord; then, *à fortiori*, those are happier who die *for* the Lord S. Bernardi Opera, vol. i. p. 544, edit. Mabillon.

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tant, then it was that conviction flashed across the mind of the royal auditor; and the profession was made that the lord of the Germans knew and would perform his duty to the church. Encouraged by this example, the barons and people flew to arms.* The apostolical eloquence of the successor of the Hermit raised armies and depopulated cities. According to his own expression, "the towns were deserted, "or the only people that were in them were "widows and orphans, whose husbands and "fathers were yet living." But though his zeal was ardent, his humanity was equally alive, and was superior to the age in which he

* Germany was not affected by the first Crusade in an equal degree with Lorraine, Flanders, France, and Italy. Saxo Grammaticus (apud Ekhard, Corp. Hist. Med. Ævi, tom. i. p. 579,) says, that when the Germans saw the troops of men, women and children, on horseback and on foot, passing through their country in their road to Greece, they laughed at them as mad, for quitting their homes to run after imaginary good, in the midst of certain dangers; renouncing their own property in search of that of other people. Ekhard (Martenne, Vet. Scrip. Amp. Coll. V. 517) mentions the same circumstance, and adds, that the cause of the want of enthusiasm in Germany was, that the divisions between the emperor and the pope prevented the preaching of the Crusade in that country. Signs, however, in the Heavens, and other wonderful things, made many Germans take the cross, and join the armies in the course of their march.

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flourished. By his own authority he silenced the preaching of a German monk, who had commanded his flock to massacre the Jews.* On his return to France, he recounted to the king and barons, assembled at Etampes, all that he had seen and done in Germany. In his absence the holy design had spread; and all inferior views, sentiments, and purposes, were drawn into the vortex of one grand project.† CHAP. IX. A.D. 1147.

* Voltaire and Gibbon have said, that Bernard was induced by envy of a rival monk, to forbid the massacre mentioned in the text. The maxim, in omnibus caritas, is in no case more necessary than when the ascription of motives to actions is the subject of inquiry. The barbarous treatment of the Jews by the first Crusaders was, as we have seen, reprobated by many pious people; and there is no reason to think that, in the case before us, Bernard joined in the popular brutality. In various passages of his sermons, preached at different times, he recommends his auditors to treat the children of Israel with mercy. In the case before us he failed. He could guide, but was unable to quell the fury of the people. The Jews would have been quite exterminated unless they had taken refuge in the imperial domain. Pfeffel, Hist. d'Allemagne, vol. i. p. 309.

† Labbe, Concilia, vol. x. p. 1104. Otho Frising. cap. 37. Bouquet, XV. 605. Except a few references, which will be mentioned in the order of their occurrence, my materials for the history of the Crusades of Louis and Conrad are as follow:— The Chronicle of Otho Frisingen; this writer was in the army of the German emperor, and an eye-witness of most of the events of this holy war. Odo de Diagolo, successor of Suger in the Abbey of St. Denys, and therefore a contemporary, has left us an account of the expedition of Louis, which I have read

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CHAP. IX.

Mayence was the rendezvous of the French Crusaders, and Ratisbon of those from Germany. After the people of France had fasted for the benefit of the sacred cause, and their monarch had received the scrip and staff from the hands of the Pope, Louis and his queen repaired to Mayence. He was soon joined by the counts of Dreux, Soissons, Ponthieu, Nevers, Tholouse, Flanders, and Henry, a son of the rebellious count of Champagne. Their levies were of priests, of people, and of soldiers; and of the last class, the number of men, armed with the helmet and coat of mail, was seventy thousand.* The civil wars of England had been

Forces of the French king and the German emperor.

in the twelfth volume of the Benedictine's Collection of the French historians. Gesta Ludovici regis VII. in Duchesne, vol. iv. the work of a contemporary. Between this writer and William of Tyre there is often a verbal conformity; nevertheless, the former contains many things not included in the latter. I have gained some hints from the Greek contemporary historian Cinnamus, and Nicetas, the next succeeding Byzantine Chronicler. The Arabic Ben Latir, as inserted in the Notice des MSS. du Roi, authenticates most of the European narrative; and I still find the archbishop of Tyre my sure and faithful guide.

* Archb. of Tyre, 902. Some English soldiers must have accompanied Louis. Innumerabilis exercitus de universo Franciæ regno et *multi de gente Anglorum*, crucibus assumptis iter Hierosolymitanum arripuerunt. Henry of Huntingdon, p. 394. Cinnamus (p. 29) says that Crusaders went from the British isles. In the continuation of Simeon of Durham (Twysden, p.

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closed by the weakness of all parties; but some of the nobility, restless when not engaged in deeds of blood, joined themselves to the force of Louis. Conrad had an army quite as large and formidable,* with a due proportion of light armed men, and simple pilgrims. The enthusiasm of the Crusade realized the dreams of romancers, and heroines as well as heroes had prepared themselves to make war upon the Paynim brethren. A considerable troop of women rode among the Germans; they were arrayed with the spear and shield, but (like Virgil's Camilla) some love of usual delights had mingled itself with the desire of great exploits, for they were remarkable by the splen

275) mention is made of a Roger de Mowbray, and of the earl of Warren and Surry, who went to the holy land in 1148. The latter was killed by the Muselmans. The earls of Warren, in Normandy, were nearly allied to the family of William the Conqueror. The grandfather of the crusading earl came to England at the time of the conquest; was a faithful servant both of William the First and of William Rufus; and was created by the latter earl of Surry. Alice, the daughter of the eighth and last earl of Warren and Surry (tempore Edward III.) married Edmund, earl of Arundel, said by Dugdale to have been his next heir in blood.

* Many of the Saxon nation had taken the cross; but they acquitted themselves of their vow, by making war on the Slavi and other pagan nations. Pfeffel, Hist. d'Allemagne, vol. i. p. 309.

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CHAP. IX.

March of the Germans.

dour of their dress, and the bold leader was called "the golden-footed dame."* The emperor marched through Hungary, and solicited the friendship of the Grecian court.† Manuel, the grandson of Alexius, was on the throne; and although like his ancestor he beheld with secret dread the armaments of Eu-

* The ladies of the twelfth century did not merely thread pearls, and amuse themselves with other employments equally delicate and elegant. The sword, and not merely the tongue, decided their disputes. Of this practice Ordericus Vitalis, p. 687, has given a remarkable instance. The love of "brave gestes" was the passion of the ladies as well as of the knights of chivalry. When poets wished to mark the degeneracy of the times in which they lived, the decline of the ardour for martial fame in women was always stated as one sign.

Where is the antique glory now become,
That whylome wont in wemen to appeare?
Where be the brave atchievements doen by some,
Where be the battailles, where the shield and speare,
And all the conquests which them high did reare,
That matter made for famous poets' verse,
And boastful men so oft abasht to heare?
Been they all dead, and laid in doleful herse?
Or doen they onely sleepe, and shall againe reverse?

Spenser's Fairy Queen, iii. 4, 1.

† Archb. of Tyre, 902. Nicetas, p. 31, edit. Basil, 1557. After the fashion of the Greek writers, Cinnamus compares the Latin hosts to the sand of the sea, p. 31, (Venice edition); and he adds, that the emperor's lieutenant, after counting nine hundred thousand, could count no longer. Nearly the same number is mentioned by Odo de Diagolo; and Godfrey of

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rope, yet for the protection of his subjects, he* entered into a treaty with Conrad for the regular purchase and sale of provisions.† There was frequent matter of charge and recrimination between the Greeks and the Germans, in the march of the latter to Constantinople; and circumstances occasioned many negociations between the two emperors.‡ The storms of nature were as unsparing as the cruelty of the Greeks. The Germans were encamped on a field towards

Viterbo (cited by Du Cange), speaking of the imperial and royal armies, says,

—— Numerum si noscere quæras
Millia millina militis agmen erat.

If these statements be true, the number of votaries of the second crusade equalled that of the first.

* Manuel had always ambitious designs upon the kingdom of Jerusalem; and the same policy which made him dislike the approach of new swarms of Crusaders, urged him to conciliate the Latins in Palestine. He grievously offended the prejudices of the Greeks, when he gave the cavaliers of St. John a station and a church in Constantinople.

† Cinnamus, p. 30, and Du Cange, note, p. 144.

‡ Cinnamus is outrageous against the barbarians, p. 32, &c. The archbishop of Tyre dismisses, very hastily, the march to Constantinople. A relation of Conrad remained in a monastery at Adrianople, for the recovery of his health. Some Greeks entered it, killed and robbed him. The duke of Suabia burnt the monastery, and slew all who were in it. The Latin writers account this action of the Greek soldiers as a national affair, but Cinnamus declares (p. 31) that these men were unauthorized robbers. Nicetas (p. 33) reprobates the Greeks.

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the south of Thrace, and while they were busied in celebrating the feast of the assumption, a river, swollen by mountain torrents, inundated the plain. The water swept away men, baggage, and horses, and festivity was changed for desolation. When the distressed soldiers arrived under the walls of Constantinople, like former bands of Europeans, they were lost in admiration of the exterior beauty of the city. But Conrad apprehended the duplicity of Manuel, and in indignation at the Grecian's infraction of the treaty relating to intercourse, he crossed the Bosphorus without meeting or conferring with the emperor.*

Conrad passes into Asia, disregarding the Byzantine emperor.

Oct. 1147. Louis halts at Constantinople

Manuel received the king of France as an equal. He met him in the court of his palace, and after mutual embraces conducted him into an apartment, where they sat with equal dignity.† In the midst of feasts and public rejoicings, the French monarch learnt that the emperor and the sultan of Iconium were in correspondence. The impatience of the barons

* Cinnamus, p. 33, and Odo de Diagolo, cited in Du Cange's note.

† There is no doubt that no feudal superiority was claimed by Manuel over Louis. Without any violation of good manners there might have been some distinction between the host and the guest. A great deal of learning has been squandered on the useless question, in what this distinction consisted; or whether the emperor sat on a high stool, and the king on a low one.

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and knights to visit Jerusalem overcame every suggestion to revenge, and made them think that the defence of the holy land, and not the destruction of the Greek empire, was the object for which they had taken up arms; that they must expiate their own sins, and not punish the crimes of the Greeks. But there were not wanting men who urged that the time was arrived for removing the barrier between Europe and Asia. By the negligence of the Greeks,* the

* This was the general opinion of the world; but when the Popes became unpopular, all the odium was cast on them. Dante makes a Crusader, in the second holy war, say,

Poi seguitai lo 'mperador Currado,
Et ei mi cinse della sua milizia;
Tanto per bene oprar gli venni in grado.
Dietro gli andai incontro alla nequizia
Di quella legge, il cui popolo usurpa
Per colpa del pastor vostra giustizia.
Quivi fu' io da quella gente turpa
Disviluppato dal mondo fallace,
Il cui amor molte anime deturpa,
E venni del martirio a questa pace.

Del Paradiso, canto 15.

——— I followed then
The emperor Conrad; and his knighthood he
Did gird on me; in such good part he took
My valiant service. After him several
To testify against that evil law,
Whose people, by the shepherd's fault, possess
Your right, usurping. There, by that foul crew

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sepulchre of Jesus Christ had fallen into the hands of the Turks. The emperors had always impeded the efforts of the Crusaders, and yet had demanded their conquests. The traitors then should be destroyed, rather than the new soldiers of God: for if the Greeks should accomplish their perfidious designs, Europe would demand from the French that army which a mistaken humanity had ruined. God himself had called them to the city of Constantine, and he would open to them its gates as he had opened to their precursors those of Edessa, Antioch, and Jerusalem.

Distresses of the Germans.

The passage through Bithynia completed, Conrad entered Licaonia, the heart of the dominions of the Seljuk Turks. The Sultan had assembled from every quarter of his states all the troops that could possibly be brought into the field, and the number was so great, that the rivers could not satisfy their thirst, or the country furnish provisions. The imperial guides conducted the objects of their care either through deserts where the soldiers perished from hunger, or led them into the jaws of the Muselmans.

Was I released from the deceitful world,
Whose base affection many a spirit soils,
And from the martyrdom came to this peace.
Carey's translation.

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In their occasional transactions, the bread which the Croises purchased was mixed with chalk, and various other cruel frauds were practised by the Greeks.* The assaults of the Turks were incessant. The staff of the pilgrim was a poor defence from a scimitar, and the heavily armed Germans could not retreat from the activity of the Tartars. Only a tenth part of the soldiers and palmers that had left the banks of the Danube and the Rhine, escaped the arrows of the Moslems, and with their commander secured their retreat to the French army. Louis had been lulled into security by the flattering assurances of Manuel, that Conrad so far from standing in need of succour, had even defeated the Turks, and taken Iconium. The French king was lying in camp on the borders of the lake near Nice, when some wretched German fugitives arrived with news of the perfidy of the Greeks, and the triumph of the Muselmans†. The allied monarchs soon

* That the guides were treacherous, was a palpable fact. Whether they acted under secret orders of Manuel, or were seduced from their duty by the Turks, is a question. Archb. of Tyre, 903. Gesta, 395. Nicetas is unsparing in his censure of the emperor. G. Villani, a careful writer, casts all the blame on the Greeks, lib. iv. cap. iv. p. 126.

† Archb. of Tyre, 901, 903. M. Paris, 68. De Guignes, livre xi.

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met, and consulted on the road which the champions of the cross should take. They united their Crusaders, turned aside from the path which had been trodden by the feudal princes of Europe, and marched in concert as far as Philadelphia in Lydia: but the Germans had lost their baggage, and on a prospect of new calamities, many returned to Constantinople, and near Ephesus (to which place the army directed its course) the emperor himself embarked, and courted that friendship which formerly he had despised. The French recruited themselves on the shores of the Egean sea, and pursued their march in an easterly direction. They rejected with disdain an offer of Manuel of a protection from Moslem fury, and they gallantly kept up their course with the usual portion of suffering till they arrived at the banks of the Meander. They found there the Turks, who having safely deposited their spoils, came to dispute with the Latins the passage of the river. The Muselmans on the mountains exhausted their quivers, and then rushed to close combat. But if the Asiatics were exalted by confidence, the heroes of the west were inspirited by the desire to wipe away the disgrace of their precursors' defeat. The battle was not of long duration; the French made so great a slaughter of their foe, that the bones of the Muselmans were conspi-

Bravery of the French.

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cuous for years, and the consequences of the valour of the French were so appalling, that the trembling Greeks confessed that great praise should be given to the moderation and patience of men in not having levelled Constantinople with the ground. The Crusaders proceeded in good order and discipline through the town of Laodicea, into the barrier mountains between Phrygia and Pisidia. The vanguard of the army advanced beyond the appointed rendezvous. The rearguard, in which was the king, being ignorant that their companions had passed the place, which was now nigh at hand, were in haste to march. They moved forwards with perfect confidence that the heights before them were in possession of their friends. Their ravenous enemy, who always hovered round them, seized the moment when the ranks of the Christians were divided, and casting aside their bows and arrows, fell upon them with tumultuous rapidity sword in hand. It was in a defile of the mountains that the Turkish tempest burst on the Latin troops. Rocks ascending to the clouds were above the Croises, and fathomless precipices beneath them. The French could not recover from the shock and horror of the surprise. Men, horses, and baggage were cast into the abyss. The Turks were innumerable, and irresistible. The life of

And their subsequent distresses.

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the king was saved more by fortune than by skill. He escaped to an eminence with a few soldiers, and in the deep obscurity of the night made his way to the advanced guard.* The snows of winter, deficiency of stores, and the refusal of the Greeks to trade with them, were the evils with which the French had to contend. They marched, or rather wandered, for they knew not the roads, and the discipline of the army was broken. They arrived at Attalia, the metropolis of Pamphilia, seated on the sea shore near the mouth of the Cestrus. But the unchristian Greeks refused hospitality to the enemies of the infidel name. The country round the city, though beautiful by nature, was not much cultivated, for it was perpetually devastated by the Muselmans. The French were therefore obliged to repose in the fields, protected only by their tents from the inclemency of the season.

Jan. 1148.

Famine had so dreadfully thinned the ranks of the army, and so many horses and other beasts of burthen had perished, that the most sage and prudent among the Crusaders advised their companions to turn aside from scenes of desolation, and proceed by sea to Antioch.

* Nicetas, 35, 37. De Guignes, livre xi. Archb. of Tyre, 905—6. Gesta Ludov. 398, 400.

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Yet when the king offered to share with his barons all the vicissitudes of plenty and poverty, and incited them to follow the route of the conquerors of Jerusalem, the brave peers of France were touched by honourable pride, and it was agreed that the simple pilgrims, women and children alone, should make the proposed passage. The city of Attalia was saved by the governor, who averted the vengeance of the French by offering them ships. When, however, after five weeks had passed, and the vessels arrived, it was found that there was not sufficient for the purpose, and the order of things was changed. The king and his soldiers embarked for Antioch. The way-worn pilgrims and the sick were committed to the charge of Thierri, count of Flanders, who was to march with them to Cilicia, and the king distributed among them all the money which his necessities could spare. But when Louis quitted the harbour, the Turks fell upon the Christians who were left behind, and the escort was found to be feeble and ineffective. The people of Attalia not only declined to open their gates, but even murdered the sick. Every day the Turks killed hundreds of the pilgrims, and as it was evident that flight alone could save the remainder, Thierri escaped by sea. Seven thousand wretched votaries of the cross at-

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tempted to surmount the higher difficulties of the land journey to Jerusalem; but the holy city never opened to their view; and in perishing under Moslem vengeance, they thought that the loss of the completion of the pilgrimage was compensated by the glories of martyrdom.

March 1148. Arrival at Antioch.

The nobility, the clergy and people of Antioch, received the French king with every demonstration of respect; and prince Raymond, observing the alarm of the Turks in Aleppo and Cesarea, at this arrival of fresh succour to the Christians, wished that some new enterprize should be undertaken while the panic continued.

Eleanora.

The gaiety of the court of Antioch had more charms for the queen than a journey over the sandy plains of Syria. Devoted to gallantry and pleasure, Eleanora urged her own and her uncle's* wishes upon the king, but no blandishments of persuasion or petulant threats of divorce, could remove Louis from his purpose of marching into Palestine.

Firmness of Louis.

He received with joy some ambassadors of the king of Jerusalem; he repaired to the holy city, entered it in religious procession, while crowds of ecclesiastics, and laymen were singing the psalm, "blessed

* Eleanora was the granddaughter of William VII. duke of Aquitain (the Crusader, p. 287, ante), who was the father of Raymond prince of Antioch.

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" is he that cometh in the name of the Lord." His arrival had been preceded by that of the emperor of Germany, the dukes of Saxony and Bavaria, and the ruined German band. Conrad had requested, and received the hospitality of his relation, and Manuel was more ready to assist him forwards to Jerusalem, where new perils awaited him, than to see him return to his hereditary dominions without further loss.*

CHAP. XI.

Arrival of the Croises in Palestine.

A council was held at Ptolemais, composed of the princes, barons, and prelates of Syria and Palestine, and the new commanders from Europe. The misfortunes of the Edessenes were forgotten, or yielded to higher feelings, for though the recapture of the principality of the Courtenays was the great object of the crusade, yet there were Muselman cities in Syria far more dangerous to Jerusalem than the remote city of Edessa. The decree for a march to Damascus was passed, and the emperor of Germany, and the kings of France and Jerusalem, brought their troops into the field; but the best disciplined parts of the army were the knights of the Temple and St. John. Eager to relieve Damascus from the yoke under which she had groaned for nearly five centuries, the

They depart from their original object.

* Gesta Lud. 401—403. Bouquet, XIII. 275, 661. O. Frising, c. 45, 47. Archb. of Tyre. 907, 8.

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CHAP. XI.

Siege of Damascus.

champions of Christianity soon arrived under her walls. The eastern and southern quarters of the city were seemingly impregnable, and the other sides, faced by fields and gardens, having towers and ditches at frequent intervals, were not apparently so formidable as solid and lofty battlements. Against the west and the north, therefore, the Latins directed their attacks. As the post of danger was the post of honour, the king of Jerusalem claimed and received it for his soldiers and the military orders. The king of France was in the rear, and on the account of the smallness of his force, the emperor of Germany fought without the concert of his allies. Numerous and of long continuance were the engagements between the Latins and the Syrians. The French fought with their wonted bravery, but the German cavaliers were peculiarly useful, for they contended equally well on foot and on horse. The king of Jerusalem pressed his foes to the river which runs round the city; but they rallied, and his ranks were fainting for want of support. The emperor and his soldiers rushed through the bands of Frenchmen, supported the first line of the army, and compelled the Syrians to take refuge in Damascus.* The city was apparently in the power

* Archb. of Tyre, 910-912. Gesta, 405-407. It was on this occasion that Conrad celebrated his personal prowess as

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of the Croises, and the people abandoned themselves to despair. Arms were thrown aside; round the exemplar of the Koran, written by Omar, some invoked the aid of the prophet, while others prepared for flight. But instead of taking possession of Damascus, the Latins anticipated the event, and thought only to whom the prize should be given. Much time was wasted in intrigues, and the imaginary conquest was at last bestowed upon Thierri count of Flanders, whose claims to distinction were principally founded on the fact, that the present was his second journey to the holy land. The barons of Palestine were indignant at this assumption of power, and violation of right; they even negociated with the Muselmans, and received their bribes and promises.* They per-

Disgraceful failure.

much as Godfrey of Bouillon had done at the siege of Antioch; namely, with one stroke of his sword he cut a Saracen (completely armed) in twain, from the shoulder through the body to the hip!

* Archb. of Tyre. 912, 913. Gesta, 407, 409. The archbishop of Tyre made sedulous inquiries with respect to the cause of the failure on Damascus, and found that the story in the text was the general as well as the best opinion. Gervas (X. Script. col. 1365) relates a tale that the Damascenes, knowing the cupidity of the Templars, promised them three casks full of besants if they would persuade the king to raise the siege. The object was effected, but the casks which were sent to the Templars contained only pieces of brass, and no gold. The Arabic

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suaded the council that the attack should be made on the other side of the city, and prophecied that the walls would yield to the first assault. Deserting the places which they had gained with so much labour and bloodshed, the commanders removed their camp: but when they found themselves on a sandy, sterile land, and contemplated the loftiness and strength of the towers which were before them, they repented of their haste and imprudence, and suspected the treachery of the advice that they had followed. They were no longer indulging in the gardens of the city, and with their usual want of caution they had not husbanded their camp stores. A return to their old station would be useless, for the Saracens had repaired the fortifications, and those scourges of the Franks, Noureddin and Saphadin, had strengthened the garrison. After sustaining for a short time the sallies of the new troops, and rejecting

account of the matter is, that the emir of Damascus played off the common trick of making the Franks of Syria believe, that if the new Crusaders took the city they would also capture Jerusalem, and other places. He even offered to the resident Christians the town of Cesarea Philippi, which was at that time a Muselman town. The Syrian Franks then terrified their comrades with a report of the march of Saphadin emir of Mosul, and the emperor of Germany raised the siege. Ben Latir, Not. des MSS. du Roi, vol. I. p. 558.

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in a council of war the advice of some unsubdued spirits for an attack on Ascalon, the Christian army raised the siege of Damascus, and retrograded to Jerusalem in sorrow and in shame. Conrad soon returned to Europe, with the shattered relics of the German host, and his steps were a year afterwards traced by the French king,* the queen, and most of the French lords.†

Return to Europe of Louis and Conrad.

1149.

Among the few men whose virtues and abilities spread some rays of moral and intellectual light over the twelfth century was Suger, the

* Louis was not ignorant of his wife's gallantries in the Holy Land. About a year after his return to France, he got himself divorced from her, on the decent pretence of consanguinity. This was a great sacrifice of interest to the point of honour, for she separated the duchy of Aquitain from France. Henry duke of Normandy (afterwards Henry II. king of England) loved her person, or her dowry, and married her only two months after her divorce. M. Paris, 70. Eleanora was most likely perfectly easy on the subject of separation, for in her judicial office in the Provençal courts of love, she had decided (in an appeal cause) that true love could not exist between married people. Raynouard, Choix des Poésies Originales des Troubadours, vol. ii. p. 107. "Nous n'osons contredire l'arrêt de la comtesse de 'Champagne, qui, par un jugement solennel, a prononcé que "la véritable amour ne peut exister entre époux." p. 110. It was indeed a maxim in the courts of love in Provence, that "le marriage n'est pas une excuse légitime contre l'amour."

† Archb. of Tyre, 910. 914.

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abbot of the celebrated religious fraternity of St. Denys, in France. Strongly imbued with the superstition of his time, his fondest wish was for the overthrow of the Moslems. As minister of Louis VII., however, he had exposed to his royal master the embarrassment of the state finances, the fierce and menacing aspect of the crown vassals, and other circumstances of a political nature, sufficient to deter him from quitting his dominions. But the spirit of romantic devotion in the heir of Charlemagne could not be quenched, and Louis well consulted the interests of his kingdom in delivering the sceptre to the charge of the abbot of St. Denys. After his return from Palestine, the king ardently wished to recross the seas, and by martial achievements to obliterate the memory of former disasters. But the sense of generous shame was not so strong in the minds of the French cavaliers as in that of the monarch, and the royal wish was not espoused. When all thoughts of a crusade had apparently died away, France was astonished at the appearance of a martial missionary in the person of him who had opposed the second holy war. Yet Suger could not be justly charged with an inconsiderate versatility of opinion. He had endeavoured to preserve in the royal mind the

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idea of the preponderance of royal duties, and he did not now urge the king to fight the Moslems. The abbot, too, might perform actions which were inconsistent with the qualities of a regent or a sovereign. The clergy of the east implored Suger to restore the fortunes of the Holy Land, knowing that he possessed more credit in France than all the other princes and prelates, and that his piety equalled his authority. Papal benediction was bestowed upon him, though the Pope was at first amazed at the enthusiasm of a man nearly seventy years of age: but his influence was exerted in vain. Angry at the timidity of his countrymen, his own courage rose; he resolved to conduct a small army to Palestine himself, and his reliance on the favour of heaven made him hope that the vassals of St. Denys alone would be more powerful than the congregated myriads of Europe. To assure himself in the possession of that favour, he repaired in religious humility to the church of St. Martin, at Tours, a place next in sanctity to St. Denys; accepted the signs of a christian militant, and, in full confidence that he would not survive the perilous journey, he offered to God the sacrifice of his life. But he was not destined to fall like a religious hero. All aspirations for glory were

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humbled by a fever; he died at St. Denys, and his successor in the abbacy pursued the usual duties of his station, without superadding those of a martial description.*

* Gervaise, Hist. de Suger, lib. 6. Hist. Lit. de la France, tome 12, art. Suger. I have inserted the above account of the abbot of St. Denys at the recommendation of a judicious writer in the British Critic for May, 1820.

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ADDITIONAL NOTES.

Note (A).—Page 6.

The palmer's dress was simple, consistently with the seriousness of his object. It was generally a long garment of coarse woollen. Du Cange, art. Sclavina. Drayton describes the "palmer poore in *homeli russet* "clad." Polyolb. S. 12, p. 198, ed. 1622, cited by Mr. Todd, note on the Fairy Queen of Spenser, vol. iii. p. 252. Palmer's weeds are frequently mentioned in old romances as a disguise, in which knights and ladies travelled. Thus in Bevis of Hampton (also cited by Mr. Todd), Sabere tells his son Terry, whom he is about to send into the "Sarrasins land" in search of Bevis,

"*Palmer's weeds* thou shalt weare,
"So maist thou better of him heare."

Afterwards Bevis himself, meeting with a palmer, thus addresses him:

"*Palmer*," he said, "doe me some favour;
"Give thou me *thy weed*,
"For my cloathing and for my steed."

So in the history of King Lear,

—— we will go disguised in *palmer's weeds*,
That no man shall mistrust us what we are.

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Milton has made a most beautifully poetical application of the subject.

When the gray-hooded Even,
Like a sad votarist in *palmer's* weed,
Rose from the hindmost wheels of Phœbus' wain.

I shall conclude with Spenser's description of a palmer:

A silly man, in simple weeds foreworne,
And soil'd with dust of the long dried way;
His sandales were with toilsome travel torne,
And face all tand with scorching sunny ray,
As he had traveiled many a sommers day
Through boyling sands of Arabie and Inde;
And in his hand a Jacob's staffe, to stay
His weary limbs upon; and eke behind
His scrip did hang, in which his needments he did bind.

Fairy Queen, book I. canto 6, st. 35.

Note (B).—Page 39.

The father of this Bohemond was a Norman gentleman named Robert Wiscard, who made a trade of war, and at the head of fifteen knights went into Apulia, on the invitation of some other Normans who had established themselves in Magna Grecia. By arms and address Robert became (about the year 1058) master of Apulia and Calabria, and, indeed, of all the country which forms the present kingdom of Naples. Pope Nicholas II. gave him the title of duke. One of his brothers, Richard, was prince of Capua, and the other, Robert, Earl of Sicily. He then aspired to further conquests; and, giving Apulia to his younger son, Roger, he crossed the Adriatic with his

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other son, Bohemond. The mother of Roger was an Apulian woman; but Bohemond was of the perfect Norman race. Wiscard took Durazzo; but he was summoned to Italy by Pope Gregory VII. in order to aid him in resisting the emperor Henry, and the imperial ecclesiastic Guibert of Ravenna; the latter of whom was afterwards the antagonist of Urban. The Norman twice reinstated Gregory, and as often sacked Rome. The pope preserved his friendship by the promise of the splendid title of the Emperor of the West. The arms neither of Constantinople nor of Venice could subdue the young Bohemond; and he conquered Illyria and Macedonia, and the country from Durazzo to Thessalonica. His father returned to Greece; but he died before the dismembered Grecian states could be reduced to the permanent subjection of his family. Some writers say that Alexius flattered the vanity of Robert's wife by the promise of an imperial union; and at the emperor's instigation she poisoned her husband. A.D. 1085, Alexiad, book 1—4. Du Cange's Notes. William of Malmsbury (Sharp's translation), 336, 407. Giannone, Istoria di Napoli, lib. 9. c. 1, 4. lib. 10. c. 2, 6, 7. It is most probable, however, that Robert died a natural death; for the Calabrians do not at all countenance the accusation of the French and English writers against Alexius. L'Art de vérifier les Dates, III. 806-808. The Norman princes were powerful in Italy; and the prudent Urban neglected nothing which could gain their friendship. See the life of Pope Urban in the eighth volume of the Literary History of France, by the Maurite Monks.

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Most of the circumstances mentioned in this note materially corroborate the opinion of Malmsbury, that Bohemond was the adviser of Urban in the affair of the first Crusade.

Note (C).—Page 56.

Before we commence the history of the first Crusade, some account should be given of the principal sources whence it is drawn. 1. *Historia Hierosolymitana Roberti Monachi.* Robert accompanied the Crusaders; and he is apparently a faithful historian. 2. *Hist. Hier. Baldrii Archiepiscopi.* Baldric assisted at the council of Clermont, but did not go to Jerusalem. His book, however, was revised by an abbot who went. 3. *Hist. Francorum Raimondi De Agiles.* This writer was a canon in the cathedral of Puy, in the Valais, under bishop Adhemar. He was the chaplain and friend of the count of Tholouse during the Crusade. 4. *Historia Hierosolymitanæ Expeditionis edita ab Alberto Canoni Aquensis Ecclesiæ.* Albert was a contemporary, though not an eye-witness of the first Crusade. His history is full and interesting, and reaches to the year 1120. 5. *Fulcherii Carnotensis Gesta Peregrinantium Francorum*, &c. Fulcher was the Chaplain of the count of Chartres, and then of Baldwin, Brother of Godfrey, during the first Crusade. His history extends a few yards further than that of Albert. It is an important document; but his style is so sesquipedalian and inflated, that the task is no light one to read his book. 6. *Gesta Dei per Francos, edita a Guiberto, &c.* Guibert was a con-

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temporary. The basis of his book is Fulcher. He does not correct his original in any point of history, but frequently in the dreams, visions, &c. about which Fulcher was more superstitious than even his bigotted associates. I have seldom found that Guibert has mentioned things unknown to other writers; and his style is affected and bombastical. 7. *Historia rerum, &c. edita Willermo Tyrensi Archiepiscopo.* William flourished in the twelfth century. His history, taken as a whole, is by far the best narrative of events in Jerusalem from the time of the first Crusade to the beginning of the reign of Baldwin IV. He is not less valuable for the matters previous to his time than of those with which he was contemporary. He was a judicious' compiler, and a correct observer. His Latin is far more classical than that of any writer whom we have characterised; and he is more frequently the historian than the mere chronicler. All these historians will be quoted from the noble collection of Bongarsius, called the Gesta Dei per Francos, printed at Hanover in fol. 1611.* The copy of Fulcher, in the fourth volume of Duchesne, is more methodically arranged than the one in Bongarsius, and contains about ten pages more matter. When Bongarsius fails me, I shall quote Du Chesne. 8. *Pedri Tudebodi Sacerdotis Sciracensis Hist. de Hieros. Itiner.* Tudebode was an eye-witness of most of the events in the first Crusade. His book was

* It was Jortin who first said that this book should be called Gesta *Diaboli* per Francos; an expression which Gibbon cheerfully adopted.

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not found till after the publication of the collection of Bongarsius. Duchesne has placed it in his fourth volume of French historians. The editor, and many subsequent, writers have strangely overrated its merits. Tudebode is much shorter than Albert and others; and passes over, or slightly notices, many important facts. 9. *Radulphus Cadomensis de Gestis Tancredi.* Ralph of Caen went to the holy land a few years after the taking of Jerusalem, and became the friend and biographer of Tancred. Fulcher's style is simple if compared with that of the Norman monk. It could have been from national prejudice only that M. de la Rue said that the history of his countryman was written in a manner but little inferior to that of Tacitus. Archæologia, vol. xii. p. 53. Martenne and Durand published Ralph of Caen in the third volume of the Thes. Nov. Anecdot.; but the best edition is in the fifth volume of Muratori. Rer. Scrip. Ital. 10. *Belli sacri historia* in Mabillon, Mus. Ital. 2 vol p. 130—240. This history was found in the monastery of Cassino by Mabillon, during the course of his literary journey through Italy. The name of the writer is not known; but whoever he was, he has only a place in the secondary rank. His book is for the most part a compilation from Tudebodus and Radulphus Cadomensis. Mabillon observed the similarity between his MS. and the first Gesta in Bongarsius, but did not refer to the historian of Tancred. 11, 12. To anonymous writers; each book under the title of Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum, in Bongarsius, p. 1—29. p. 561—621. The first of these works is an improvement of Tudebode; and the second is avowedly

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an abridgment of Fulcher: but the writer is original in many parts of his work. 13. *William of Malmsbury*, one of the earliest, and certainly the best of the English monkish historians. The first Crusade occurred in his childhood; and though he was sometimes misinformed respecting military events, yet his account is altogether spirited and philosophical. 14. Matthew, a priest of Edessa, died very old, A.D. 1144. He wrote a history of his country in the Armenian language. Such part of it as relates to the first Crusade has been translated into French by M. Chahan de Cerhied, and published in the ninth volume of the Notices des MSS. du Roi. I shall only quote Matthew when we come to the foundation of the Edessene principality. He makes Joscelyn de Courtenay accompany Godfrey; and is guilty of so many other palpable blunders, as to be of no general use. 15. *Comnenæ Alexias*, Gr. et Lat. fol. Venice 1729, enriched with the notes of that diligent searcher into the obscure recesses of antiquity, Charles du Fresne du Cange. The princess Anna, daughter of the emperor Alexius, was born about the year 1083. The tenth and eleventh books of her work relate to the period of the first Crusade. The princess was vain, ignorant, and partial; but her history must be studied, because it contains the only Grecian account of the first Crusade. 16. *De Guignes, Hist. des Huns*, volume the second. This book completes our authorities, for it comprises an abridgment of the Arabic historians, Ben Latir, Abulfeda and Aboulmahasen. It may be regretted, perhaps, that the Arabic authors are so few when compared with the Latins. But the monkish histories bear great marks of truth. The

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writers confess and describe the vices of the Crusaders; and as the shedding of Saracenian blood was not considered an offence, we need not apprehend that any facts of the war have been concealed. I have received but little benefit from the work of Ekhard, contained in the fifth volume of Martenne, Vet. Scrip. Amp. Coll. It is in general accordance with the great authorities in the Gesta Dei per Francos, but contains no additional matter. Such parts of Ordericus Vitalis as relate to the first crusade, are only transcribed or abridged from Archbishop Baldric's account: but for collateral matters I have often found the Ecclesiastical History of the Anglo-Norman monk highly valuable.

Note (D).—Page 57.

The exact date of plenary indulgences cannot be ascertained; but this canon accelerated the practice. In the early ages of the church it was thought that sins against God ought to be followed by terrestrial as well as celestial justice. Scales of offences and punishments were, therefore, framed; and should be consulted by all those legislators whose principle of penal law is retribution, and not the good of society. Fasts and prayers were the usual penalties. As the world grew older vices multiplied, and neither certainty nor severity of punishment seemed to be of use. Offences were so numerous, that the longest life could not expiate them; and, whenever death came, there was always a long unsettled arrear. The church now said, that retribution could be made by substitute as well as in person; and a new scale of crimes and

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expiations was made. The people commuted their offences for gold, and the priests acted as their deputies in saying the proper number of prayers. Kings and princes, for the good of their souls, gave lands unto the church. Those unfortunate people who could not pay, were obliged to submit to flagellation; and it became the option of a great man, whether he would pay his money to the church for prayers, or get some callous mercenary to bear his sins upon his back. From this statement of the practice respecting ecclesiastical censures, the importance of the plenary indulgence mentioned in the text is evident. The plenary indulgence affected various descriptions of men. The barons of the eleventh century lived in the daily commission of crime, and the clergy often visited them severely for their plunder of churches and of the poor. The punishment most deeply felt by these ruffians of quality, was the not being allowed to bear arms, or to appear on horseback. When, therefore, the Crusade was preached, it was joyfully received by the nobles. They might pursue their usual course of life; and a repetition of crime would atone for former sins.

Note (E).—Page 126.

Mail armour was of two sorts, scale mail (squamata vestis) and chain mail (hamata vestis). The scales were sown on a lining of leather or cloth: but the mail meshes were connected together like links of a chain, and were not attached to anything; the whole exhibiting a kind of net work, of which (in some instances) the meshes

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were circular, with every iron link separately rivetted. The chain mail and the scale mail were used sometimes separately, and at other times conjointly. The hauberk was a complete covering of double chain mail from head to foot. It consisted of a hood joined to a jacket, with sleeves, breeches, stockings, and shoes; to which were added gloves, or gauntlets, of the same construction. It was girt round the body with a strap, called a balteus. Some hauberks opened before like a modern coat: others were closed like a shirt. In France, only knights might wear the hauberk. A species of armour, called a shirt or coat of mail (in shape like a carter's smock-frock) was worn by some soldiers. It was either with or without sleeves, and reached to the knees. Indeed originally the hauberk was nothing more than a coat of mail, and in that dress the knights were generally clad in the first Crusade. But they had the shoes and hose of mail also. The squire might wear the coat or shirt of mail simply, without the hood, sleeves, breeches, or hose of mail. A garment, called a gambeson, was worn by soldiers. It was a sort of doublet or waistcoat, composed of many folds of linen stuffed with cotton, wool, or hair, quilted, and commonly covered with leather. Although it was chiefly worn under the coat of mail, to protect the body from being bruised by the strokes of the sword or lance, it was occasionally used as a surcoat, and richly ornamented. Mail armour was in general wear during all the Crusades. In France, at the close of the thirteenth century, it was succeeded by plate armour, or large plates of solid iron, fitted to the various parts of the form. Soldiers had, for a long time, been

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making approaches to this complete casing of steel. The gorget, or throat-piece, the knee-pieces, and the breast-iron, or piece of iron over the breast, had for years been in use. When plate armour was in fashion, the knight carried a dagger, wherewith he might kill his dismounted and recumbent antagonist; who, in consequence of his iron incasement, could only feel the shock, but not the sharpness of a lance. The dagger was called la miséricorde, because the time of its display was the moment when the worsted cavalier cried for mercy. Mail armour stood its ground longer in England than in France. It was more or less in custom from the time of the Norman conquest till the fifteenth century. Henry IV. was the last monarch that wore it. Du Cange on Joinville, note 31, part 2. Strutt, on the Habits, &c. of the English, vol. ii. p. 176. Grose on Ancient Armour. Introduction to Gough's Sepulchral Monuments. Notes to the Fabliaux, &c. &c. Albert mentions the head-pieces as having a splendid appearance. Galeæ in capitibus eorum splendentes super solis splendorem coruscant. It is evident that there was some difference of material or fabric between them and the coat of mail. The helmet often had what was called a nasal, or piece of iron descending to the extremity of the nose. In the course of time the weapons of offence were made larger and more powerful, and the defensive armour became stronger and more complete. Visors and bevers were introduced. The visor, or vintail, was a sort of grating to see through, and the wearer could raise or lower it at pleasure. The other addition was also a moveable piece of iron, and called a bever, from

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bouveur, a drinker, or from the Italian bevere, to drink. The simple skull-cap became a heavy helmet, variously ornamented with crests and other military and armorial distinctions. The monumental effigies of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, son of Edmund Crouchback, is the first in England whose helmet is surmounted by a crest. Albert of Aix speaks of Godfrey and other knights as adorned with a surcoat made of ermine, vair, and other skins, adorned with gold, p. 102, ante. This surcoat was used by most ancient nations; it was worn over the cuirass. Plutarch tells us the purpose of it was to distinguish the persons of each party. Amorial bearings, emblazoned on the surcoat, are unquestionably of older date than the Crusades. But that was not the general mode till, in France, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and in England at the close of the same century. The original plan was to have them painted on small shields, which were fastened to the belt. Painted bucklers were used in France before the time of the Crusades. See the poem of Abbon on the siege of Paris, Duchesne, Hist. Norman, p. 39; and the instance of an emblazoned shield of Robert le Frison, Count of Flanders (A.D. 1072), mentioned by Menestrier, Origine des Armoiries, p. 55. The surcoat was often laid aside when plate armour came into custom, for then the arms were enamelled or relieved on the steel or iron. Armorial bearings first were used in tournaments in the tenth century, and the right to wear them was primarily restrained to gentlemen who displayed their skill in military exercises. Honorary distinctions of every sort became common in the Crusades and other wars of the

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middle ages. It seems fair to conclude, that many of the barbarous terms of heraldry were adopted by the Christians from circumstances connected with their Asiatic expeditions. Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, xviii. 316. M. Foncemagne, de l'Origine des Armoiries, in the twentieth vol. of the same work. Du Cange, Dissertation on Joinville, Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique, tom. iv. partie ii. sec. v. ch. vii. art. 2. and Introduction to Gough's Sepulchral Monuments. It has been often said, that armorial bearings were absolutely necessary in the first Crusade, for the purpose of distinguishing the leaders of so many different nations as composed the Christian force. But the armour of the eleventh century did not completely case in the body: the helmets were without visor or bever, and men might be known by their physiognomies.

Note (F).—Page 126.

The armiger, or armour-bearer, of a knight is spoken of by Albert of Aix, p. 392. The word valet, and its diminutives, valeton, varleton, frequently occur in old writings. Neither Du Cange nor Menage can give even a probable derivation of the term. All young single men were called valets, and, agreeably to the fashion of naming the son of a king l'enfant, or the infanta, or puer, so the word li vallez, among the French nobility meant the son of a prince. The term valet was frequently synonimous with that of esquire. Thus the Roman des Loherancs, "La veissez vallez escu tenir." "Esquires were generally young gentlemen who were "learning the use of arms. Their education was long

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" and severe: at seven years old the noble children " were usually removed from their father's house to the " court or castle of the future patron, and placed under " the care of a governor, who taught them the first " articles of religion, respect, and reverence to their " lords and superiors, and initiated them in the cere- " monies of a court. Their office was to carve, to wait " at table, and to perform other duties which were not " then considered as humiliating. At their leisure " hours they learned to dance and to play upon the " harp: were instructed in hunting, falconry, and fish- " ing: and in wrestling, tilting with spears, &c. At " fourteen the page became an esquire, and began the " course of more laborious exercises. To vault on a " horse in heavy armour, to scale walls, and spring over " ditches with the same incumbrance, &c. were neces- " sary preliminaries to the reception of knighthood, " which was usually conferred at twenty-one years of " age. The esquires, whose charge it was to do the " honours of the court, acquired those refinements of " civility, which formed what was called courtesy. " Young persons of both sexes assembled in the castle, " and the page was encouraged, at a very early period, " to select some lady of the court as the mistress of his " heart, to whom he was taught to refer all his senti- " ments, words, and actions. Thus the strongest pas- " sion of the human breast was so directed as to exert " all its witcheries in the cause of virtue. The service " of his mistress was the glory and occupation of a " knight: her image had taken root in his heart amid " the fairy scenes of childhood, and was blended with

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" every recollection of that age of innocence, and her " affections, bestowed at once by affection and gratitude, " were held out as the recompense of his well-directed " valour." Ellis's Preface to Way's Translation of French Fables. In military expeditions, the esquire carried the lance, helmet, and shield of his knight, and furbished his armour. No service was considered degrading, because the moving principle of a military life is subordination. The squire could not eat at the same table with the cavalier, and if he dared to strike a knight, he was punished by the loss of his hand. Some of the duties and qualifications of a squire are described by Chaucer:—

And he hadde be somtime in chevachie,
In Flanders, in Artois, and in Picardie,
And borne him well, as of so litel space,
In hope to stonden in his ladies grace.
Singing he was, or floyting alle the day,
He was as freshe as is the month of May.
Short was his goune, with sleves long and wide;
Wel coude he sitte on hors, and fayre ride.
He coude songes make, and wel endite,
Juste and eke dance, and wel pourtraie and write.
So hote he loved, that by nightertale
He slept no more than doth the nightingale,
Curteis he was, lowly, and servisable,
And carf before his fader at the table.

Prologue to the Canterbury Tales.

Note (G).— Page 126.

It is clear, from several passages in the historians of the first Crusade, that the war horse of the knight was

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not barbed or barded. In the battles of the first holy war, as "storied" on the windows of St. Denys, the horses are represented as totally defenceless. I should not dwell upon these pictures as an authority, if the story were unsupported. They are not accurate in every respect. For instance, there are no ornaments on the shields of the knights. Montfaucon says, the shield was entirely plain even in the days of Suger, by whose order these paintings were made. But Albert of Aix expressly mentions the clypei of the Crusaders as being "auro et gemmis inserti variisque coloribus "depicti." Montfaucon, Monumens François, vol. i. p. 389. Albert Aquensis, lib. iv. c. vi. p. 241. In some of these pictures the Turks are clad in the hauberk and in others in a kind of plate armour. The horse on which the knight rode during the march was called a "palefroi," and a war horse, generally a large and heavy animal, was named a "destrier," perhaps because it was common to lead him by the hand till the hour of battle. See Du Cange, Glossary on Villehardouin. The etymology of palfrey is to me quite unintelligible. Several opinions are contained in Menage, Dict. Etym. edit. Jault.

Note (H).—Page 127.

Albert of Aix, who is more full in his description of the costume of the time than any other writer, mentions the ensigns and standards of the knights as very handsome: signa et vexilla gemmis et ostro fulgida erecta, e hastis infixa coruscabant. Albert Aq. 212.

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—— l' ordinato esercito congiunto
Tutte le sue bandiere al vento scioglie,
E nel vessillo imperiale e grande
LA TRIONFANTE CROCE al ciel si spande.
La Gerusalemme Liber. i. 72.

A square flag, or banner, was the distinction of knights banneret, or the higher classes of nobility, who were cavaliers. Such knights as were not dukes, counts, or barons, or distinguished for their wealth, carried only the pointed pennon. When a simple knight was made a banneret, the sovereign prince, or the commander of his armies, unrolled the emblazoned pennon, cut off the end, and delivered the square flag to the knight, who had claimed the honour in consequence of the nobility of his birth, the services of his ancestors, &c,. and who declared that he had a sufficiency of vassals to support the dignity. Sovereign princes had both banner and pennon. See Chaucer's Knight's Tale, 1, 979. Bannerets had a war-cry, but other knights had not. The former were called rich men, the latter poor men. Knights of every rank frequently adorned the top of their lances with a small flag, called a bandroll, or pencil.

Note (I).—Page 246.

Tanta sitis erat in obsidione, ut tellurem cavarent, et glebas humectiores ori apponerent, rorantiaque marmora lambarent. Plerique prout ferre poterant jejunabant. Quia jejunis sitim temperabant. Robertus Mon. p. 75.

The description which Lucan has given of a drought in Pompey's army, blocked up by Cæsar, was perhaps

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in Tasso's mind when he drew the picture of a similar distress in the army of the Crusaders. "But it is "pleasing to observe," with a very elegant writer, "with what address Tasso has imitated, though not "copied, the picturesque circumstance with which the "description of the Roman poet is closed. Instead "of aggravating the distress of the soldier, by the pros- "pect of waters, which he could not approach, he recalls "to his remembrance the cool shades and still fountains "of his native land: a circumstance not only singularly "pathetic, but more fertile also of imagery than per- "haps any other that the poet could have imagined." —Alison on Taste, vol. i. p. 52.

S' alcun giammai tra frondeggianti rive
Puro vide stagnar liquido argento:
O giù precipitose ir acque vive
Per Alpe, o in piaggia erbosa a passo lento;
Quelle al vago desio forma, e descrive,
E ministra materia al suo tormento.
Che *l' immagine* lor gelida, e molle
L' asciuga, e scalda, e nel pensier ribolle.

La Gerusalemme Liberata, xiii. 60.

Since the appearance of the first edition of this work, it has occurred to me that Tasso took the leading idea of this description from Dante, Inferno, canto 30, where the punishments of avarice are said to be dropsy and excessive thirst. A sufferer exclaims,

Li ruscelletti, che de' verdi colli
Del Casentin discendon giuso in Arno,
Facendo i lor canali e freddi e molli,

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Sempre mi stanno innanzi, e non indarno,
Che *l' imagine lor* via piu m' *asciuga*
Che 'l male ond' io nel volto mi discarno.

The rills, that glitter down the grassy slopes
Of Casentino, making fresh and soft
The banks whereby they glide to Arno's stream,
Stand ever in my view; and not in vain;
For more the pictur'd semblance dries me up,
Much more than the disease which makes the flesh
Desert these shrivelled cheeks.

Carey's Translation.

Note (K).—Page 264.

The title of King was given to Godfrey by many of his contemporaries, and by the writers immediately subsequent to his time. Other authorities, however, call Baldwin the first king of Jerusalem, and it is not clear whether Godfrey ever signed himself king. See the very learned note of Du Cange on the Alexiad, p. 89. In a circular letter to Europe after the capture of Jerusalem, Godfrey simply styles himself the advocate of the holy sepulchre. Thesaurus, Nov. Martenne, vol. i. p. 281. The character of defender of a city or church was well known in the fierce ages, when there were no public laws to protect the weak. It easily passed from the west to the east. Thus Bohemond was called the *advocatus* as well as the *dominus* of Antioch. Albert Aquensis, lib. v. cap. ii. p. 260. A more important question than that which I have mentioned, is, whether Godfrey became monarch on account of the refusal of other princes. Raymond d'Agiles (p. 179), Albert of Aix (283), and Guibert (537), say, that the crown was

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offered to the count of Tholouse, but that he refused it. This story must certainly be invention; for it is totally impossible to think that the ambitious and avaricious Raymond would have refused a kingly crown. The archbishop of Tyre says, that the grasping disposition of the count of Tholouse was the very cause of his not being elected. Malmsbury, Bromton, Robert of Gloucester, and a host of Norman and English writers, inflamed with national pride, declare that the crown was offered to Robert of Normandy on account of his being a king's son: and Peter Langtoft goes to the ridiculous length of making Godfrey endeavour to persuade the council to elect Robert. The natural indolence and love of undisturbed pleasure of Curthose are the alleged causes of his declining the dignity. Not one of the authors in the Gesta Dei per Francos warrants this tale. Ordericus Vitalis (p. 756) mentions the uncontested election of Godfrey, and M. Paris (p. 41, 43) gives but little credence to the story concerning Robert. The disinterestedness of the duke of Normandy was always a favourite theme of English writers. Thus Drayton,

> And when they had the holy city won,
> And king thereof they gladly would him make,
> All sovereign titles he so much did shun,
> As he refused the charge on him to take,
> He the vain world so clearly did forsake,
> So far it was from his religious mind,
> To mix vile things with those of heavenly kind.
> He would that him no triumph should adorn,
> But his high praise for sinful man that dy'd;

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By him no mark of victory was worn,
But the red cross to tell him crucified;
All other glories he himself deny'd;
A holy life but willingly he leads,
In dealing alms, and bidding of his beads.
And as a pilgrim he returned again,
For glitt'ring arms in palmers' holy gray,
Leaving his lords to lead his warlike train,
Whilst he alone came sadly on the way,
Dealing abroad his lately purchas'd prey:
A hermit's staff his careful hand did hold,
That with a lance the heathen foe controll'd.

Drayton's Legend of Robert Duke of Normandy, Works, page 194.

Note (K).—Page 308.

By the advice of the patriarch and barons, and the wisest men of his army, Godfrey appointed some sage and discreet persons to inquire into the laws which the pilgrims had been accustomed to in Europe. The result of their labours was presented by the king to a general assembly of the patriarchs and barons, and declared by them to be the usages and assises which should ever govern the king and the people of Jerusalem. But they were corrected and augmented at different times by the successors of Godfrey, who, it is stated, sent into other countries in order to gain principles of legislation. The assises were generally called the letters of the sepulchre, from the place of their repository; and are said to have been lost when Jerusalem was taken by Saladin; à la terre perdue tout fut perdu. In the year

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1250, the laws were revised and reduced into writing by John d'Ibelin, count of Jaffa and Ascalon, lord of Beritus and Ramula. A second revision was made by sixteen commissioners at Cyprus, in the year 1369, for the government of that island. A manuscript, in the Vatican, of this second revision, is the original of the only printed edition which has appeared of these assises under the title of Assises et bons Usages du Royaume de Jerusalem, &c. fol. Paris, 1690. Thaumassiere was the editor. He appended several notes, few of which are materially elucidatory of his text, and his glossary of old French law terms is very imperfect. The Assises have no pretensions to praise for a methodical arrangement of their contents. The subjects treated of are few, and confusion was not apprehended. Bound up in the same volume is the collection of the customary laws of Beauvoisis, by Beaumanoir, who was Baillie of Clermont, a few years after the time when John d'Ibelin revised the Assises. Beaumanoir's book remained in MS. till it was edited by Thaumassiere. Both treatises throw great light on each other: for although the basis of the Assises is feudal jurisprudence, and the basis of Beaumanoir is customary or common law, yet a great many local practises were introduced by the Franks into the Palestine code, and the customary law of Beauvoisis had been modified and changed by feudal institutions.

SHACKELL AND BAYLIS, JOHNSON'S COURT.

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BOOKS ARE LENT FOR TWO WEEKS
Fine of 10c for Each Day after the Stamped Date
(To Be Renewed, Books Must Be Returned)

DUE

JUL 27 1920

AUG 27 1935
8:30 Aug 26
OCT 14 1944

JAN 19 1966
MAY 29 1966
1-3 94

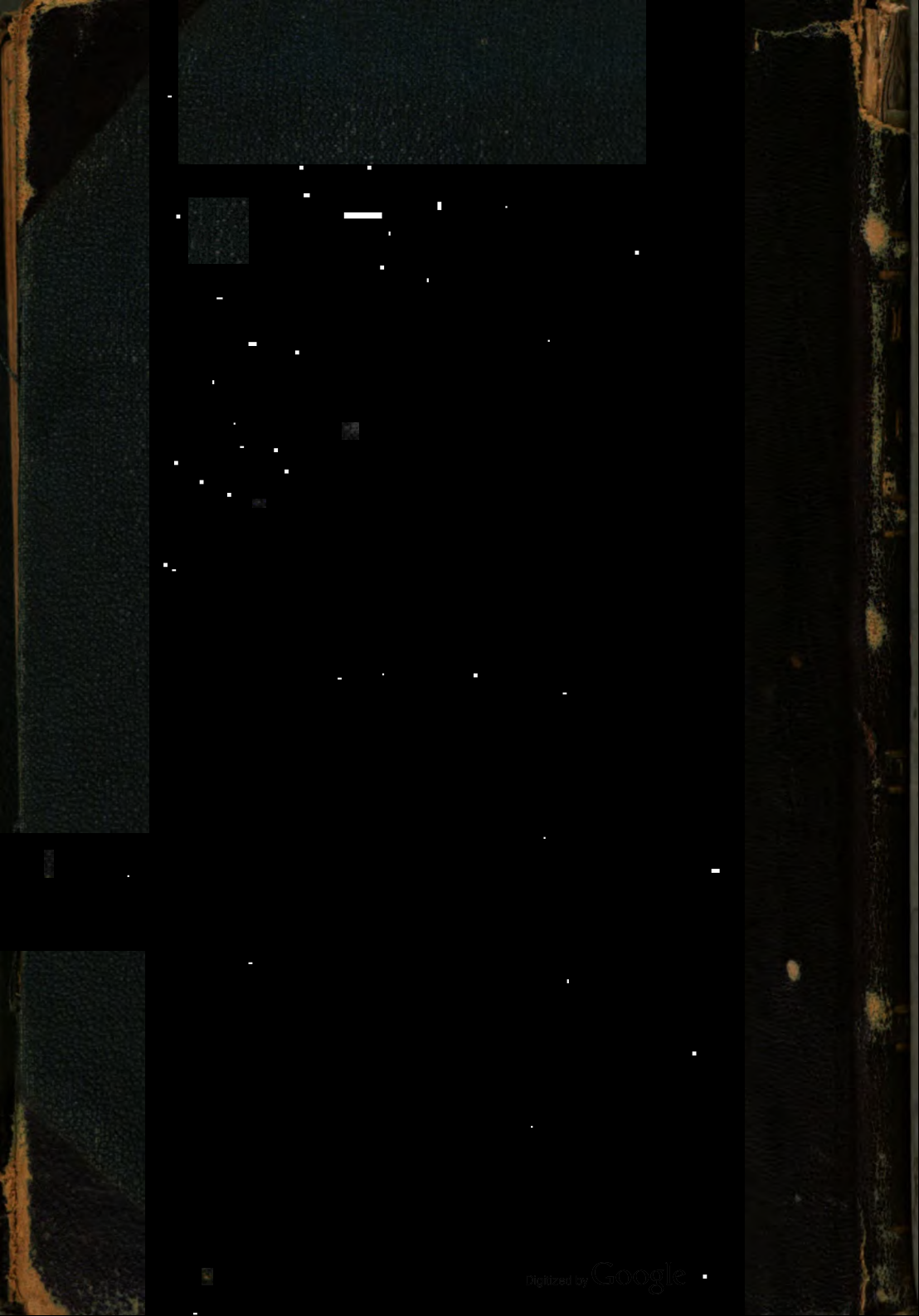
DATE-DUE ON DISCHARGE CARD

DUE

Usually books are lent for two weeks, but there are exceptions, and all loans expire on the date stamped in the book. If not returned promptly, or the loan renewed, the borrower is fined ten cents a volume for each day overdue. Books must be presented at the desk for renewal.

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